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Hungary Urges Stricter Sanctions on Serbia

LD2603175193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Hungary proposes stricter observance of earlier UN sanctions against Serbia instead of new sanctions. Andre Erdos, Hungarian ambassador to the United Nations, has stated this, recalling that the international embargo is regularly violated and that weapons for the Bosnian Serbs are transported from Yugoslavia. The diplomat is of the opinion that this is why the Serbs can still shell Sarajevo with heavy weapons. Hungary would support stricter steps as well, but it is against the closure of navigation on the Danube since it would cause disproportionately great losses, he said.

Cosic Addresses European Parliament Committee

LD3003184293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 30 Mar 93

["Text" of speech by President Dobrica Cosic to the European Parliament's Committee for Foreign Affairs and Security on 30 March]

[Text] Brussels, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—FRY President Dobrica Cosic today addressed members of the European Parliament's Committee for Foreign Affairs and Security in Brussels, presenting his analysis of the Yugoslav crisis, its sources, and ways of resolving it.

I wish to reciprocate the honor that you granted me by inviting me to address the European Parliament's Committee for Foreign Affairs and Security with a deliberate attempt to reveal the truth about the tragic situation on the soil of former Yugoslavia and with my readiness to cooperate with you in your search to find ways of ending the inter-ethnic, religious, and civil war and the unspeakable sufferings of millions of people on the territory of a destroyed state and a toppled communist-Titoist system.

I hope you will not take what I am about to say as a sign of my immodesty: the truth about the Yugoslav tragedy, about internal and external factors of disintegration in Yugoslavia, which resulted directly in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, about the Serbian question, about the consequences of the current events in the Yugoslav region for the Balkans and Europe, about the situation in Kosovo, about the sufferings of the people of Serbia and Montenegro under the sanctions and in isolation imposed by Europe and the world community. This truth has not yet become a political and moral determinant of the attitude of the European Community and the United Nations toward current events on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, this truth is not part of the awareness of the main part of the world opinion, which was created with the help of a commercialized and indoctrinated mass media. Such a one-sidedly informed public has become a source of pressure on national governments.

So, by championing their own short-term interests and through the influence of misinformation, international forums, and above all the European Community and its members, the United States, and Russia, have committed fatal mistakes regarding the Yugoslav crisis, while well-intentioned efforts and peace-loving wishes are not yielding expected results.

You, ladies and gentlemen, are both displeased and indignant with us, Serbs and Yugoslavs. Your mass media has been using Manichaean doctrine and even the stereotypes of racial hatred to present Serbs as barbarians and criminals. We are disappointed because your injustice and lies have plunged us into misery and made us feel humiliated and forlorn as never before in our history. However, I have not come here to quarrel with those whose views are different from mine. Many books will be written about current European prejudices about the Serb nation, as well as about our illusions about the world we live in. I am here to try to contribute to a better understanding between the European Community and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The FRY is a state whose people have remained loyal to their freedom-loving and democratic traditions, to their Hellenistic-Christian culture, and to their historical commitment to be part of Europe.

This FRY sees its future in the European integration of the entire Balkan peninsula and is prepared to use all its resources to take part in such a process.

I will present you my view on several issues regarding the Yugoslav crisis and the perpetual crisis in the Balkans caused by the collapse of the communist regimes, the state and political decomposition of the Yugoslav area, and the penetration of militant Islam with neo-Ottoman intentions on the Balkan peninsula.

At this moment the hardest question of the Yugoslav area and Europe is: Once the horrific war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is over, how should a just and permanent peace be established and how should three warring and dispersed nations be organized into a state in the political sense?

One thing ought to be said immediately. The Bosnian issue is extremely complex, painful, and impossible to resolve by routine diplomacy. Its essential determinants lie deep down in history and the structural constellation of Europe and the world. Europe has been dealing with the Bosnian issue actively, but also badly, since the Berlin congress in 1878, longer than one century. The imperatives of European peace and the consolidation of southeastern Europe today demand a wise, visionary approach aiming at the final resolution of the Bosnian issue, which is a sublimate of historical, ethical, religious, state, and political antagonisms of the Balkans. Final solutions are democratic, just, and anticipatory solutions of the Bosnian crisis; they can only be found in the maximum of respect for the political will of all three nations—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, in guaranteeing their equality and in their agreement, arrived at through compromises and consensus. But this is not being done now. World political forums are trying to find a solution

by applying double standards toward its protagonists, by unilateral dictates, sanctions, ultimatums, and threats of military intervention. The very same states which supported secession in the name of democracy are now forcefully imposing a joint state on the Serbs in Bosnia, and they wish to achieve peace through war! Such solutions of the Bosnian crisis are precipitating all three warring nations into a permanent and genocidal war and exodus. Such solutions are not beneficial for peace in Europe.

What I want to stress here is this: The Serb nation, whose living organism has been destroyed by the violent secession of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina with support from outside factors—who are neither willing nor patient enough to turn the disintegration or rather the "Balkanization" of Yugoslavia into a process of "Scandinaviazation" on the principles of the free self-determination of people—is existentially interested in peace. It does not look for solutions to the Bosnian crisis in national egotism or ideological fancies. The Serb nation has identified its national issue with the issue of democracy.

There is no single genuine national Serb interest that is not fundamentally democratic or complementary with basic European interests. As a dispersed people, the Serbs cannot equate their national identity and spiritual integrity with either state or territorial identity or integrity. We oppose any form of national bigotry, ethnic homogeneity, or "ethnically pure" states.

You must not, ladies and gentlemen, see Serb nationalist extremists as being representative of Serb national ideology or identify them with the entire Serb nation. You know very well that today there are nationalist extremists and a chauvinistic mood within all European nations. In spite of the fact that we live surrounded by chauvinist ideologies and regimes, that in the 20th century alone, we have survived three genocides, and that today we are threatened by genocidal terror in Croatia and by a genocide on the part of fanatical Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serb nation has remained essentially true to its moral values and love of freedom and open to agreements and friendship with other nations, at the same time respecting those who are different. However, it is with sorrow and concern that I am saying that in the current inter-ethnic, civil, and religious war, Serb extremists, among others, have been committing acts of revenge and crime against the Muslims, crimes which horrify the large majority of the Serb people. This, however, has not blurred our collective mind, and we continue to believe in the emergence of a political civilization with ethnic affiliation as its primary characteristic and national rights as part of civil rights. Such a political society is our national goal.

I assume, ladies and gentlemen, that you expect me to answer the question: What is the FRY doing to establish peace and normalize relations between former Yugoslav republics? In spite of the exceptionally unfavorable circumstances in which the FRY finds itself, that is, in spite of isolation and non-recognition of its sovereignty by the European Community, the United Nations, and the majority of states, we are investing considerable efforts in cooperation with the European Community and the United Nations with the aim of ending the war on Yugoslav soil, normalizing relations with neighboring states, and consolidating the Yugoslav and Balkan region. I will cite several facts in order to substantiate this.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stressed in a Federal Assembly declaration that it had no territorial pretensions against its neighbors, former Yugoslav republics. Not a single soldier of the Yugoslav Army has been on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina since 20 May 1992; while Croatia, with 40-50,000 soldiers entered Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to wage a war against Serbs for a greater Croatia. Despite this fact, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, were declared aggressors in Bosnia-Herzegovina and were punished with sanctions and isolation. As far back as 13 July 1992, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia asked in a proposal to the Security Council that observers be stationed at all airports in the FRY and on borders between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as on borders between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order to control all border traffic. At the end of August 1992, I sent a proposal to presidents of all former Yugoslav republics, urging them to normalize relations between all former Yugoslav republics, but I have not yet received a single reply.

The FRY Government recognized the Republic of Slovenia on 14 September 1992, but the highest Slovene bodies responded to this by ignoring us. On 30 September 1992 in Geneva, Croatian President Mr. Franjo Tudjman and I signed a declaration whereby the FRY took on the commitment to implement the Vance plan envisaging the withdrawal of the remainder of the Yugoslav People's Army from Croatian territory. Consequently, the last soldier of the Yugoslav army was withdrawn from Croatian territory, from the Dubrovnik area, before 20 October last year. The declaration also envisaged the formation of an inter-state committee that was to work on the normalization of our [Yugoslav-Croatian] relations. The committee had started functioning, but further normalization of relations was completely hindered on 22 January of this year, because of Croatia's aggression against the republic of Serb Krajina, which is under UN protection.

Despite the Security Council Resolution that demands that Croatia's army should be withdrawn from the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina, Croatia has continued the war and state terror against Serbs. State terror and national and civil discrimination against Serbs have forced about 300,000 Serbs to leave Croatia in the past two years. It is difficult to normalize our relations in such circumstances.

Following a Security Council decision to punish persons who have committed crimes against humanity, the FRY

Government formed a state commission to investigate war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. I am putting a particular stress on the FRY's efforts—following the London conference—fully to cooperate in all peace-making actions launched by the United Nations and the European Community. We cooperated constructively at the Geneva and New York negotiations on restoring peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have undertaken many peaceful initiatives and humanitarian actions; we have made possible and helped the passage of humanitarian aid convoys for Bosnia; and at the same time, we have taken care of almost 700,000 refugees from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, around 50,000 of whom are Muslims.

The FRY Government and our people resolutely condemn crime; "ethnic cleansing;" holding hostages; the shelling of towns, especially of Sarajevo; and the destruction of villages, industrial, and communication facilities, churches and monuments.

As its contribution to the efforts to end the suffering of all three nations and to normalize the situation in former Yugoslavia as soon as possible and in a desire to cooperate wholeheartedly and constructively with both the UN and the EC along the path of peace and progress, the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has accepted and supports the Vance-Owen plan as a basis for ending the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Unfortunately, during the work on finalizing the Vance-Owen plan, not enough effort was made to guarantee full equality in the projected state community of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Those who worked on the plan have designed maps that are not completely acceptable to the Serbs, because they are unjust and threaten Serb existential interests, while at the same time favoring Croatian interests and taking heed of Muslim blackmail.

We expected the cochairmen of the Geneva conference and responsible factors in the UN Security Council, the EC, the United States, and Russia to display more readiness in meeting vital needs of the Serbs and to take into consideration their fear of collective annihilation, the fear inherent in the memory of a Ustasha genocide.

Contrary to imputations, persistent efforts by the Serbs from Bosnia to preserve their territorial link with Serbia does not imply any political aspiration to create a greater Serbia; they are rather defending a road which Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia used during the Second World War to flee to Serbia to escape the Ustasha genocide. The Vance-Owen plan fails to remove the fundamentals of a state in which Muslims and Croats would have hegemony and of their coalition, of a state in which ethnic persecution and exodus of minority people and of the Serbs, in particular, would continue since under the proposed maps 40 percent of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina would remain to live in provinces under either Muslim or Croatian authority.

In my view, statements by the Bosnian Serb leadership that they accept 80 percent of the maps while the disputed 20 percent of the territories should be placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] protection and control until a full agreement is reached through political negotiations deserve your full attention.

The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia maintains that the current cease-fire is of great significance as an opportunity for intensive negotiations on the final cessation of war operations to resume.

Likewise, we regard a statement made by the American Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, that changes to the Vance-Owen plan aimed at meeting Serb demands are possible, as being of great significance. We welcome and support all initiatives and proposals to resume negotiations, because it would be a great misfortune not just for Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also for Europe and the world community, if we were to regard the New York negotiations as the end of the matter.

At this critical moment for the Serbian people, I want to believe that international forums and people working on the resolution of the Bosnian crisis will see that ultimatums, sanctions, and threats cannot bring about peace, freedom, and human rights. Such policies and methods could, however, destroy the Serbian people, which do not deserve such a punishment. Good reasons make it imperative for the negotiations on the Vance-Owen plan to continue in Geneva as soon as possible, with sincere readiness by all negotiating sides to compromise. And I mean all! Because peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible only if there are no winners and losers.

I plead with you, ladies and gentlemen, to believe me that the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia cannot order the Serbs in Bosnia to endorse what threatens their survival, nor are they prepared to carry out such orders from Belgrade. So, our relation to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and our influence on them are not such as believed by the European Community, the Security Council, and the governments of the United States and Russia.

Starting from the wrong convictions, the international community has exerted further pressures and has threatened to punish Serbia and Montenegro with even tighter sanctions, and thus go on holding them hostage for the Bosnian Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. We can give advice, and we have done that, but we cannot give orders to people who are dying and sacrificing everything they have in order to survive in their own country. We certainly cannot order them to capitulate.

With regret and fear for the future of my country, I must say: The European Community, the United Nations, the United States of America, and Russia have not responded to our peace-making and constructive efforts with the understanding and support we expected. On the contrary! Pressure and sanctions persist, isolation and increasingly serious threats continue. Such attitudes by foreign factors toward the FRY and the Serbian nation have caused a decline among democratic forces [in

Yugoslavia] and have stirred national and social extremism, disappointment, wrath, and despair among the whole of the nation.

As a historian who has for decades studied the history of the Yugoslav nations in the 20th century, as a novelist who has devoted himself to understanding and expressing the tragedy of the human fate in the Serbian and Yugoslav territory, as a writer who nowhere in his 20 books wrote a single chauvinist sentence as a thought of his own, I will, ladies and gentlemen, take the liberty to share with you my opinion on the permanent solution of the Bosnian crisis.

If the EC, the UN, Russia, and the United States, as leading powers in the world, are prepared, for strategic or other reasons, to help in the efforts to reach a historical and lasting solution to the Bosnia crisis, and if they wish to persevere in supporting one arbitrary state creation, i.e Bosnia-Herzegovina, then, in my view, a state of Bosnia-Herzegovina is possible only as a confederation of the three national communities: the Muslims, the Serbs and the Croats. These national communities—in the form of republics, provinces, or cantons—held together by the most fundamental central state functions, should not be "ethnically pure." In these communities all human and civil rights must be guaranteed and all refugees and displaced persons must be allowed to return under international control. The Bosnia-Herzegovina confederation must be demilitarized and its territorial integrity respected by both the FRY and Croatia.

Of course, a Bosnia-Herzegovina organized on this principle will make sense only if it is a result of free political will of all three nations and if the United Nations is prepared to help in implementing it. This project is difficult to execute, but would undoubtedly help the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina to extricate themselves from the inter-ethnic and religious war and would provide foundations for a more secure future. This would also help Europe to free itself of the Bosnian syndrome and to consolidate its troubled southeast.

Economic sanctions, isolation, and other punitive measures against Serbia and Montenegro, which the European Community proposed and adopted and which the United Nations Security Council legalized on 30 May 1992, are the penultimate act in the tragedy which has befallen our economy, health, culture, science, and sports, that is, all areas of the social life and all citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Industrial, trade, and financial lifelines, which helped develop the national economy and secured living standards of medium-developed countries, were cut. Sanctions put an end to scientific, cultural, and sports cooperation, which were for decades bringing us closer to other nations, cultures, and religions, and now we live in a quarantine more resembling a concentration camp. The sanctions annulled numerous international conventions on universal human rights, and we have been turned into a pariah nation.

The effect of the total blockade of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is truly catastrophic. The FRY national product in 1992 was 27 percent lower then in 1991. Production in 1992 was 22 percent lower than in 1991, and in January 1993 it was lower by 37 percent in comparison to January 1992.

Retail prices were going up by 55 percent per month on average in 1992, and inflation for December 1992 was 19,810 percent in comparison to December 1991. The cost of living this March went up by 263 percent in comparison to the previous month, and the price of food went up by 373 percent. Prices in the first three months of this year increased by 20 times on average in comparison to the same period of the previous year. March inflation is 225.8 percent, and if it continues to rise at this rate, it will be to the tune of 10 million percent at the end of this year.

The average monthly salary in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is around 30 German marks, which is below the poverty line as set by the United Nations. By the end of 1992, out of the total number of 11,500,000 inhabitants of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the number of jobless people was around 800,000; 2,300,000 people were employed, while more than 600,000 of them were on "compulsory leave." If we add 700,000 refugees and more than 1,000,000 pensioners to that number, the picture of our living standard will be even bleaker. The exodus of the Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, poverty and destitution, are threatening to produce an army of jobless and homeless people which could cause social tremors and even spill over into Europe.

The "gray economy" and inflation have destroyed all regular trends at the internal market; all capital has been forced into spending, while the entrepreneurship has been pushed into speculation. The production of fertilizers has almost died out; we do not have sufficient quantities of oil, which has imperiled the nutrition of our population. Because of the lack of oil and gasoline, cars, public bus, and rail traffic have been halved; people are having a hard time reaching their workplace; farmers are bringing less and less food to city markets; interpersonal relations have been impoverished. General poverty and deprivation have caused the reduction or even the extinction of spiritual needs. Our life has been exposed to rapid and total degradation, while further tightening of sanctions and total isolation have been heralded.

The UN sanctions have damaged and threatened the life of the population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in many different aspects. The functioning of health institutions is mostly dependent (around 95 percent) on the import of medicines, raw materials for their production, medical and sanitary material, equipment, spare parts, and other products for medical needs. Incomprehensively complex procedures for obtaining permits for the import of products for medical needs, followed by financial transactions to pay for these products, make the import process of these daily needed products last for

a few weeks, and even months. The Security Council sanctions have almost completely halted the production of medicines in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In desperation, I must tell you that we lack milk and food for newborn babies, that death awaits about 5,000 people suffering from serious kidney diseases and needing dialysis to survive; our medical supplies needed to treat these people will last for less than a month. The same fate awaits several thousand people affected by malignant diseases. Since the summer of 1992, thousands of surgical operations have been canceled due to a shortage of surgical equipment and medicine. Those patients are threatened with imminent death.

The death rate in our psychiatric hospitals has dramatically increased, since the doctors have no other ways of pacifying and treating serious cases, except by the medieval practices of tying patients to their beds or electrical shocks. Tuberculosis and other infectious diseases are on the increase. There are signs of an epidemic of infectious diseases in our hospitals. We are running out of water purification chemicals. Resulting epidemics could wipe out entire suburbs and towns.

All appeals by the government of the FRY to the UN Security Council Committee for Sanctions to allow the importation of medicines and medical supplies, equipment, spare parts, and raw materials for the production of medicines, as well as appeals by our doctors to the WHO, have remained unheeded. In the name of the basic human right to health and life, I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to do everything in your power to help the sick, the refugees, and the wounded to receive medical treatment and to exercise their right to health and to help lift all forms of sanctions which affect the health care in the FRY.

I ask myself and you: How, under such circumstances, can democratic transformation be carried out and how can free and civic society, the free market economy, and the spirit of enterprise, pluralistic mass media, the rule of law which would fully guarantee civil rights and rights of national minorities, be created? The existing conditions are causing a general regression in society, strengthening conservative and authoritarian forces, and are breeding political and ideological extremism, and—which pains and alarms us—are leading to "a brain drain"; as many as a third of our young scientists and scholars have left the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the past two years.

The isolation of and sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the quarantine in which Serbia and Montenegro have been placed, have imperiled the imminent development of the entire Balkan region. They have put an end to the development of complementary potentials at the Balkans, and to natural and inevitable processes of integration—economic, social, cultural, scientific, and in the field of communications. Sanctions and blockades antagonize all neighboring nations of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They breed criminal "gray economies" and lead to the political and moral erosion of the society in the entire Balkan region. In a word, they destroy our states and national beings.

Sanctions and isolation are stopping our social and democratic transformation, are distancing us from progressive European trends and are taking all of southeast Europe onto the path of regression and—I will use a very serious word here—of a historical contamination.

If by isolating the FRY the world community is trying to exert pressure on my country to contribute to a peaceful and comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis and the final end of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, then such pressure is unnecessary and useless, because we are aspiring toward that aim and contributing to its realization as much as we are able. The FRY, as I hope I have shown you, is doing everything within its power to cooperate with the world community in order to bring about the end of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and secure lasting and just peace in that unhappy country. If you believe that we are guilty because we offer humanitarian and financial assistance to the part of our nation which lives outside the parent country, and is fighting for survival, we will not try to defend ourselves from that "guilt." After all, no one has accused Croats and Muslims throughout the world, not to mention anyone else, of being "guilty" of that.

Threats of tighter sanctions and total isolation coming from New York and Brussels put in danger the survival of our nation. I am asking you, honorable and responsible people, in the name of which principles and rights, whose interests and goals, is a whole nation threatened with destruction? I want to stress one thing: In the depths of our society, in our collective being, social and national rebellion is being accumulated as a reaction to the existential threat from the outside, to the brutal punishment and threats from Europe, the United Nations, the United States, and Russia.

That omnipresent rebellion caused by unjust threats to our existence can turn into desperate destruction whose consequences will certainly be felt beyond the boundaries of Serbia and Montenegro.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I still believe that Europe and America will show their humanitarian awareness and political common sense vis-a-vis the people of Serbia and Montenegro, that our right to existence and freedom will be heeded, and that my country will be relieved of the economic sanctions and isolation if the immense human suffering is to be reduced and social and national catastrophe avoided.

There is a way out of the Yugoslav agony and the current perpetual crisis in the Balkans. The main prerequisite for ending the war and embarking on the path of economic, democratic, and civilizational transformation of Yugoslav and Balkan societies is to pacify and humanize all national ideologies, to abandon aggressive state policies, and adopt a policy of national compromise and cooperation to replace current antagonism.

We see the way out in your solidarity and your readiness for the sake of common interests to cooperate with us on a long-term basis on this historical and perhaps fateful task.

Another prerequisite for successfully avoiding a permanent crisis in the Balkans is a change in the international community's hitherto policy toward the people of former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Big and powerful states must give up their hegemonistic policy in the Balkans and must give adequate political and material assistance to the people of the Balkans in their emancipation and civilizational renaissance in order to transform the ill-fated process of "Balkanization" into the process of "Europeization."

I consider it necessary for the international community in its engagement in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans, in addition to its policy of palliative measures and temporary solutions, to also show courage and support the radical approach based on the consistent application of the right of all nations to state self-determination, which would lead to the radical state and political precomposition of the areas of Yugoslavia and the Balkans, obviously, exclusively in a peaceful and negotiated way. This state and political precomposition would have to be carried out with respect for the free political will of every nation and with the observance of the principle which was launched and supported at the end of the first world war by the great U.S. President Woodrow Wilson.

A condition for permanent peace and progress on Yugoslav territory and in the Balkans is the gradual creation of a Balkan community. That implies a well thought out and rational process of integration of economy, communications, scientific, and cultural potentials of the Balkan states and nations, in complementary relations with the European Community, their immediate and wider surroundings. Obviously, first we should begin with the economic and communications integration as a condition for political stabilization. In that process of integration, all problems of national diasporas of the Balkan nations can be resolved without international conflicts in a peaceful and democratic way.

Human rights of national minorities would become a matter of bilateral and multilateral agreements, and the present nationalistic and destructive energy of dispersed nations would be pacified by the overall democratic and integrational policy within the Balkan community, while the realization of national rights would not be conditioned by the affiliation to any national state and its territory, but by the creation of free civic society.

As a European, I hold that it is of vital interest for Europe that the Balkans get Europeanized, which would defend the southeastern part of Europe from residual and destructive energies from the past.

Baltic Ecological Conference Opens in Gdansk

AU2703155293 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Gdansk, March 24—Financial problems in countries undergoing market reforms and recession affecting Western countries limit the possibilities of financing the Baltic protection programme, this was stressed at the first session of the conference of the Baltic states which opened in Gdansk today.

The two-day conference, attended by the environment ministers of Baltic states and representatives of international financial institutions, is discussing the principles of the multi-discipline Baltic protection project, which covers investments, law, management and educational issues.

The programme, launched by the prime ministers of the Baltic states in Ronneby, Sweden, in 1990, was later ratified in Helsinki. According to Deputy Environment Minister Bernard Blaszczyk, the implementation of the project will cost some 18 billion ECU within the next 20 years.

The majority of the participants in the meeting were of the opinion that local means of individual countries should provide the main financial source for ecological investments. These means could come from fees charged from industry and especially from firms polluting waters running to the Baltic.

Walter Stottman of the World Bank stressed that the preparation of precise investment projects and the creation of credit instruments were indispensable for launching international credit lines.

Vast sources of finance would be available for the Baltic protection if Western countries of the region agreed to earmark part of Poland's debt for ecological aims, chairman of the Eco-Fund Maciej Nowicki said.

'Urgent Measures' Needed

AU2703155393 Warsaw PAP in English 1219 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Gdansk, March 25—Urgent measures are needed if the natural environment of the Baltic Sea is to be protected, delegates meeting in the northern Polish port city of Gdansk for an international conference to discuss the Baltic protection programme, claimed on Thursday [25 March].

Opening the second day of the two-day conference, which brings together environment ministers from states bordering the Baltic and representatives of international financial institutions, Polish Environment Minister Zygmunt Hortmanowicz said that financial questions were of crucial significance in ensuring the ecological security of the Baltic region.

Danish Ecology Minister Sven Auken called for faster measures to be taken to defend the Baltic. "I am opposed to ten-year programmes. If we are going to wait that long.

perhaps there will be nothing left to defend, and at the moment, we have done too little."

According to the conference material, Poland faces a great burden in cleaning up the Baltic. Of the 132 "hot spots" highlighted on the map of rivers flowing into the Baltic sea, 34 are to be found in Poland. In addition, Poland is the leading emitter of nitrogen and sulphur compounds, and of other harmful substances, in the Baltic region.

Demonstrations for Kosovo Independence Noted

AU3003090293 Tirana ATA in English 0826 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—Great gatherings of Albanians living in different European cities such as in Munich, Lausanne, Stockholm have been organized recently, in which they demanded Kosovo's liberation from Serbia.

A petition was read in these gatherings addressed to European states and governments and to the United States of America.

Kosovo, one of the 8 former Yugoslav units, is the only occupied country in Europe. After the violent deprival of Kosovo's autonomy in 1990, the ban of its parliament and the government, the mass dismissals of the workers, closing down of schools and the university, the destruction of the health system, the continuous state terror, the occupying Serbian state is exerting in Kosovo, a systematic ethnic cleansing is taking place there as well. As a result of this terror, about 300,000 Albanians, mainly youngsters, have left Kosovo during the last 3 years.

The situation in Kosovo, the petition says, is full of angers for a possible conflict with consequences for the whole region, where the Albanians will be victims of militarized Serbia. From the international community we demand a possible immediate suspension of the Serbian military-police error in Kosovo, prevention of the armed conflict, Kosovo's demilitarization, installation of the peace forces and above all recognition of the Republic of Kosovo as a neutral and independent state, as an expression of the free will of the dominant part of the people of Kosovo reflected in the referendum of 1991 and in the free election of 1992.

The recognition of the Republic of Kosovo would be the best way for the solution to the question of Kosovo and an important step for the solution to the Albanian question in the Balkans.

Green Party Leaders Meet Kosovo Delegation

AU3003171693 Tirana ATA in English 1019 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 28 (ATA)—A delegation of Kosova's Green Movement made up of Dr. Ilir R. Hoxha, chairman, Dr. Sabri Tahiri, and Doc. Fail Citaku, presidency members, which also included Ing. Xhelal Halili, representative of the Green Movement in Macedonia, visited Tirana of late.

They conducted talks with leaders of the Albanian Green Party and discussed major problems in the region after the views of the Green Movement of the European Parliament. They compiled a statement which confirmed that the two major problems of the Albanian nation today is the political solution of the situation in Kosova and the speedy improvement of the economic situation in the Republic of Albania.

In the meeting they said that the Meksi government has coped with the political-economic difficulties during the transition period as the most responsible stage to confirming democracy and overcoming the extraordinary economic difficulties. The participants expressed their support for the government of the republic of Kosova as the sole proper government.

Berisha Voices Concern With Polican Residents

AU3003165593 Tirana ATA in English 0811 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 29 (ATA)—On March 28, following the visits and meetings in Gjirokaster, the President of the Republic Sali Berisha went to Polican of Skrapar, where a spontaneous rally of inhabitants, who had gathered to wish welcome to the president, somewhat changed the official program of the president. In his address, Mr. Sali Berisha highly valued Polican people's devotion to democracy and assured them that he himself and the democratic government will draft a supporting plan to pull Polican out of the grave situation and help it embark on the road of development and prosperity through investments.

Later President Berisha visited the military production combine and was familiarized with the situation of this industrial centre, so vital for the population of Polican. The combine will survive, partly preserving its profile of production and restructuring the most part of it in order to adapt to the civil needs and demands, Mr. Berisha said adding that this will be done parallel to the government's commitment to open new working fronts.

Later President Berisha attended an open meeting with cadres, workers, and other inhabitants of Polican in the House of Culture. Here the president was accompanied by the mayor of Polican, Arshin Tusha, who acquainted him with the economic-social situation of the city and the acute problems Polican is encountering at present. About the situation, which he described as very grave, the mayor of Polican accused the new system of democracy from the positions of a party leader and not as a representative of the local government. This roused reaction on the part of those present in the hall who shouted: Sali Berisha, Sali Berisha, long live democracy, and freedom-democracy.

The president said in response that those who politicised the situation in Polican will never succeed in changing the situation in their favour. The situation is grave, but not without perspective, because it was not democracy that left Polican workless but the communism of the Party of Labour, President Berisha said. He drew the attention of the mayor for maintaining a party stand and not as a representative of the government in Polican.

The speech of President Berisha was again accompanied with acclamations: Sali Berisha, Sali Berisha, freedom-democracy.

After this meeting President Berisha went to the city of Corovode, where he met with members of the district council, municipality, chairmen of communes, etc.

The chairman of the district council said among other things that the inhabitants of Skrapar District support the reform towards market economy and are convinced that, for them, the monist system has ended once and for all.

In his address President Berisha supported and considered motivated many of the remarks and suggestions that the counselors and leading cadres of the local government made at this meeting. He told them that an amendment on buying and selling the land will be issued soon and that the lands in the countryside will not be turned back to the expropriators, but there will be compensations.

President Berisha said in continuation that the removal of specialists and directors is not done on a party line but according to the wrong concept of some leader in the grass root. Later he tackled the problem of the inner debt, the activity of the local government in conformity with the law, etc.

Deputies Continue To Discuss Human Rights Bill

AU3003151793 Tirana ATA in English 0812 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—In the sessions of March 29, the People's Assembly continued again with the discussion of the draft law on the fundamental human rights and freedoms. The discussions were long and full of debates.

The deputies of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, although they said the draft law reflects faithfully the known international documents, such as the Helsinki Charter, that of Paris, the statement of Copenhagen, etc., that they do not have any remark for its content, still they will vote against it because, according to them, the so far period of the governing of the Democratic Party has had violations of the human rights and freedoms, unlegitimate actions towards members and sympathizers of the Socialist Party. To this end, according to them, the draft law does not guarantee the protection of these rights and freedoms, without the Constitution.

The deputies of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party, besides valuations of the draft law, described as pretexts the claims of the deputies of the Socialist Party, as a trick to delay the adoption of the draft law, a strategy with long-term objectives up to the suspension of the parliament. According to them, it is a continuation of the labour-socialist policy of a party which plays the role of a destructive opposition.

The discussions will continue in the morning sitting of March 30. During the session of March 29, the deputies also approved the working program for the coming two weeks for the People's Assembly.

Joint Seminar on Environmental Protection Held

AU3003164593 Tirana ATA in English 0817 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—The Albanian Committee for the Environmental Protection, in cooperation with the Federal Ministry of the Protection of Nature and Reactors' Maintenance in Bonn, with the Office of Environment in Berlin, and the Ministry on Environment and Territories' Planning in the land of Turingen, started in Tirana on March 29 the joint seminar on the construction of the public administrative structures for the environmental protection and the way of adopting decisions and the procedures in the structures of the market economy.

Mr. Sigmanne, minister of environmental protection and the territories' planning of the land of Turingen, who was invited, gave the idea on a possible adoption of the German experiences in the administration of the environment according to the needs and conditions of Albania.

The seminar is presided over by Lirim Selfo, chairman of the Albanian Committee of Environmental Protection, and Mrs. Haidy Pauls from Karl Duisberg Center. The seminar will last three days and German specialists of this field will read reports in it.

Tirana Inaugurates THE BALKANS Review

AU2603144793 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 26 (ATA)—The humorous review THE BALKANS was inaugurated on March 25 in Tirana. This review is realised upon the initiative of the humorous creators throughout the Balkans and will first appear in Albania. Then it will be translated in the language of each Balkan country. Editor in chief is the Albanian writer Niko Nikolla.

Attending the inauguration ceremony were also representatives of the diplomatic corps of the Balkan countries and others. Greetings from the ambassador of Turkey in Tirana, Metin Ornekol, and the president of the Association of Humor of Romania, Valentin Silvastru, were read. The ambassador of Romania in Tirana, Gheorghe Micu, dean of the diplomatic corps in Tirana, greeted as well. The review THE BALKANS will have its center in Tirana. It is fruit of an idea launched in a Balkan meeting organized two years ago when tranquillity prevailed in the Balkans. The idea became a reality now when few people in the Balkans think that it is time to make humour. Hence, Tirana undertakes the initiative of changing for good the gloom of the Balkan.

Defense Ministry Denies Rumors on U.S. Planes

AU3003164693 Sofia BTA in English 1428 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—"No other countries' Armed Forces, including warplanes at the airfields, are stationed in the territory of Bulgaria," the Defense Ministry Press Center said, reacting to a story in today's OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK entitled "The Generals Are Silent."

A front-page editorial note in the OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK daily today criticizes the silence of the Bulgarian President's Office and superior military officers over a publication in the Serbian Magazine REVIJA '92, which quoted a well informed source as saying that U.S. warplanes were allegedly stationed at Bulgarian airfields, ready to attack Serbian targets in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The allegations in the publication quoting the Serbian magazine REVIJA '92 do not correspond to the truth," the Press Center states. In a fax sent to the BTA it emphasizes that the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army strictly observe the principled position of the Republic of Bulgaria on non-involvement in any way whatsoever in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Berov Discusses 'Possible' Cabinet Changes With DPS

AU3003203193 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 mar 93

[Text] Prime Minister Lyuben Berov met the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] leadership today.

Following the meeting, he declared to representatives of the mass media that some possible structural and personnel changes in his cabinet had been discussed on this occasion.

Mr. Berov reportedly informed the DPS leaders that the Council of Ministers has already completed the drafting of the 1993 budget and it is expected to be submitted to parliament.

Deputy Minister Daskalov Explains EFTA Agreement

AU3003194193 Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—The agreement, which Bulgaria signed in Geneva yesterday with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), along with its agreement on association with the EC, incorporate this country into a free trade zone with 19 West European countries and thus clear this country's way to the prospective European economic area, Deputy Trade Minister Stanislav Daskalov, who was Bulgaria's chief negotiator at the talks, told the press on his return today.

Of course, those countries do not account for a large share of Bulgaria's foreign trade (3.5 percent of exports and 6.5 percent of imports), but the agreement opens up opportunities for an increase of two-way trade, Mr. Daskalov emphasized. He said that very fine conditions for export are created in the industrial sector, as 95 per cent of Bulgaria's exports to EFTA will be granted a tariff-free access upon the entry of the agreement into force, i.E, on July 1, 1993—at least to the countries which will ratify it by that date. "We hope that Bulgaria will also be among these countries," he emphasized.

The deputy minister said that the bilateral protocols, signed with all EFTA countries (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland) regulate concessions on farm trade within definite limits and amounts. Part of Bulgaria's farm exports is covered by concessions, and this coverage varies by the country from 60 to 90 per cent. All staple Bulgarian farm exports will qualify for such concessions. On the other hand, the Bulgarian concessions are much smaller or none at all with some countries. Concessions on farm goods are unilateral in the agreements with Switzerland, Norway and Iceland and are granted to Bulgaria only, Mr. Daskalov explained. [passage omitted]

BDC To Remain 'Inactive' Until Elections

AU3003132593 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Mar 93 p 7

[Interview with Petur Staykov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Democratic Center, by Vesela Ivanova; place and date not given: "Bulgarian Democratic Center Keeps Center's Magnet"]

[Excerpts] [Ivanova] Mr. Staykov, how do you see the future development of the Bulgarian Democratic Center [BDC]? Certain politicians claim that the time of the coalition has passed, and that the strong parties are now the pillars of democratic society.

[Staykov] If you allow me to quote [radio and television commentator] Petko Bocharov I could say "yes, but no." In most developed democratic countries the major political parties are the main supporters of the parliamentary legal order. This does not mean, however, that more or less stable political coalitions do not exist there. The accepted practice is to form a parliamentary majority on the basis of the coalition principle. Also some stable coalitions exist, such as the rightist-centrist coalition in France led by Jacques Chirac. In Bulgaria there are still no political parties in the real sense of the word. The existing political formations are not elements of a democratic society. They are semitotalitarian formations, some of which will probably turn into political parties.

On the other hand, thank God, we are not in a campaign situation now. This is another factor that influences political life. This is a very convenient moment for every party to pay attention to its own construction, seek supporters in society, and, naturally, win the sympathy of the voters. I am convinced that coalitions rather than

parties will compete in the next elections. Certainly, in a new parliament it will be impossible to have any government except a coalition. One could say that coalitions do not have a present, but they have a future.

[Ivanova] What is the place of the BDC in this situation?

[Staykov] The BDC emerged as a means of self-defense against anticipated repressive acts by the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. It has fully played its role in this respect. The BDC could now be an inactive coalition, and rather loose and flexible, so that each of its member-organizations could concentrate on its own development and problems. In a campaign, the BDC could be resurrected.

[Ivanova] Then why continue to exist?

[Staykov] In order to preserve the name. [passage omitted]

[Ivanova] Attempts are being made to construct social democratic and liberal-conservative alliances. In the final analysis it appears that the activity of the extraparliamentary forces is restricted to attempts to regroup and gain the upper hand.

[Staykov] The struggle for the upper hand is not a negative phenomenon in itself. The negative aspect is, however, when this struggle is conducted at the level of the leaders, without any relation to the parties' real influence in society. It is normal for the party with the strongest influence in society to dominate a possible coalition. The unpleasant fact is that for certain parties this regrouping became the only form of existence. [passage omitted]

Commentary Blames Government for Isolation

AU2903183793 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Mar 93 p 3

[Iliya Damyanov commentary: "The Order Was a Turn to the Left, But We Are Actually Marching in Circles"]

[Text] Ahmed Dogan [Movement for Rights and Freedoms chairman] ordered a turn to the left, as he was standing on the the threshold of the president's office a few months ago. We did not take him seriously. We regarded it as a totally insane idea, one not even fools would dare to conceive. We were mistaken. Lilov's propaganda song had rocked us to sleep like children with that famous lullaby of equality, brotherhood, and freedom, to which they let us sleep for over 45 years. The manipulation of society was total.

In responding to this manipulation, the Union of Democratic Forces' Parliamentary Group and Filip Dimitrov's cabinet sensibly and without any panic expressed their warning that a coup against the first democratic government was in the process of preparation and the restoration of Bolshevism was imminent. We did not believe them and we failed to react.

Ivan Kostov [former finance minister of the Dimitrov cabinet] declared from the rostrum of the National Assembly that a government which serves the Communists is likely to make the Western countries turn their backs on us. The crowd of left-wing deputies shouted him down. Again we remained silent and passive spectators.

Today things have fallen into place. It was DUMA, of all the Bulgarian newspapers, a daily which had also participated in the political conspiracy against democracy, to admit that "the International Monetary Fund [IMF] has categorically hardened in its attitude to Bulgaria and will not give so much as an inch in future negotiations with the government on new credits." This was written under the headline: "Bulgaria's Negotiations With the IMF Have Reached a Deadlock."

This confession means that Bulgaria is already heading for the dramatic fate of Russia and of the former USSR countries (meaning both their political and economic fates). The DUMA article actually admits the total breakdown of the government's financial foreign policy and the failure of Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, who should immediately resign. It is evident that he will not do so, but he will be obliged to announce the country's inability to pay back the foreign debt, as his teacher Lukanov did in the past.

DUMA's confessions confirm a basic quality of the communist upper crust, which is once more becoming evident, namely their brilliant skill in spending money that was saved with great efforts for the state treasury by the former government. Who would deny that as a result of Ivan Kostov's policy, the stores were filled with goods and the state reserves amounted to approximately $1.5 billion? It is only a question of two days and then the government will be forced to admit that the "competent professionals" [of the new government] have squandered and spent all this money. The question arises: What should we do now?

The Socialists admit that the West is turning its back on us. The Berov government has not other choice than to turn around and hence, to face the East. Nevertheless, even before Bulgaria stretches out its hand to beg for money from the East, it is likely to meet the hand of the beggars from that side.

Dogan's order to make a turn to the left actually means marching in circles—toward hopelessness, chaos, and dictatorship.

Havel, Kovac Discuss Cooperation Issues

LD3003174193 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac started his official visit of the Czech Republic today. He was welcomed at the airport by his counterpart Vaclav Havel. Afterwards the two statesmen held talks at Prague Castle. A press briefing of the presidents and members of their entourage took place late in the afternoon. Eva Hulkova reports.

[Hulkova] Right in front of the assembled journalists, finance ministers Ivan Kocarnik and Julius Toth signed an agreement on the establishment of customs crossings and an agreement on cooperation at these crossings. According to Ivan Kocarnik, these are standard cooperation agreements which will make it possible for both sides to jointly execute the work at customs houses.

The two presidents reaffirmed the desire to convey to the premiers the interest in a speedy signing of the main agreement on the division of assets and other agreements related to it. Michal Kovac said that from the viewpoint of building lasting good relations between the republics, it is important that the present state of affairs should not be perpetuated.

The presidents also discussed cooperation between both republics on the international arena. Vaclav Havel highlighted the historical importance of this visit and told journalists that he and Michal Kovac have agreed to meet at least three times a year and more often, should the situation require it.

President Havel went on to say that there still exist questions whose solution is under government's jurisdiction. The presidents will try, however, to help create conditions for their successful solution.

As for the borders, the differences between the positions of the two sides are not as great as initially appeared. This view was jointly voiced at the press briefing today. With regard to people's travel across the border, Vaclav Havel said that the Czech side has made it absolutely clear that it does not seek restrictions on the movement of citizens from both countries, and that it does not intend to turn itself into a fort as far as Slovak Republic is concerned. Border crossings are a technical matter, with no hidden meaning, Vaclav Havel said.

Speaking about the overall result of the first contacts between the delegations, Czech President Havel said that there is hope that joint work ban continue well. The first phase in the existence of the two independent republics is an uneasy test. But my feeling is that there is hope that both sides can successfully pass this test, Vaclav Havel said at Prague Castle late this afternoon.

Minister: Slovakia Does Not Want Property Division Talks

LD3003165093 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)—Czech Transport Minister Jan Strasky, who is a member of the commission for the division of the property of the former Czechoslovak Federation, said today that Slovakia did not want to continue the discussion on Czech-Slovak property division.

Speaking at a press conference in Pardubice, East Bohemia, he said that some statements by Slovak representatives are aimed at preventing any agreement.

Slovakia has changed its stands obviously due to its economic troubles, Strasky said. The Slovaks are striving to preserve the current situation, including the unsettled debts, Strasky said.

Czechs and Slovaks had earlier agreed on all problems except for the coupon privatisation issue, Strasky noted. Now everything is being forgotten, he stated.

The time of negotiations is over and the self-preservation instinct is being applied, Strasky said.

Klaus Interviewed on Issues With Slovakia

LD3003205393 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Interview with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Premier, the first visit of the Slovak President Michal Kovac to Prague is linked with several question marks. The first one concerns the situation in the division of assets and the hitherto unconcluded property division agreement. President Kovac said that he is going to propose to you tomorrow that it should be concluded in the wording in which it was initialled by individual ministers. In other words, it should be signed without changes and amendments proposed by the Czech side, with the premise that negotiations of these changes should go on. Do you regard this course of action as acceptable?

[Klaus] We would have to precisely define what the agreements initialed by individual ministers actually are. The first agreement was initialed as long ago as before Christmas. At that time the Czech Government approved something and the Slovak finance minister subsequently initialled it. I hoped that I would sign it on 27 and 28 December in Bratislava when, on last Sunday of Christmas, I and Mr Meciar appeared in the Slovak version of our television program "The Week in Review." Unfortunatelly, it did not happen. Since then, we have been ready to sign these agreements at any time. This was regrettably not the case on the Slovak side.

During my lunch with the Slovak president tomorrow—I am giving this lunch in his honor in Hrzan Palace—I will be glad, of course, to receive some kind of assurance from the Slovak president that he himself will push for a speedy signing of these agreements.

[Musilek] Before his visit to Prague, President Kovac also spoke also about resolving the procedure system at the border. As a solution he would regard, as he said, a conclusion of a multilateral agreement between the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Ukraine, and possibly Germany. Do you think that such an agreement would be realistic and that it would be in the interest of the Czech Republic?

[Klaus] The Czech Republic wanted to tackle the asylum-seekers' problem in a multilateral way. But all Central and East European countries basically turned down this variant. At the meeting of interior ministers a fortnight ago, the Czech side was left alone holding this proposal and so, this is probably not the course we should take. In general we have nothing against the Slovak side embarking on this course again, but from my talks in Germany last week, I know well that Germany is not interested in this course either. It is logical. Each simply wants to gain the best possible advantage. Our failure to strike an agreement is an advantage for the Germans, because their position in negotiating with each of us separately is stronger than if they were to negotiate with all of us as one entity. I cannot, I cannot see that success could be reached this respect. The interest of these countries differs—and this, by the way, is yet another drop in the renowned and rather trivial debates on the Visegrad Group. What is evident here is that each country has slightly different interests dictated, for example, by whether it is or is not directly neighbouring on Germany. That's the biggest difference between these countries. I therefore do not believe in a multilateral solution, although it would naturally be advantageous for us. And so, pushing it through does not appear to be up to the Slovak side.

[Musilek] Will you also discuss during your talks the issue of the Slovak investment coupon holders, which is, of course, closely linked to a settlement of property issues?

[Klaus] We have repeated many times that as far as we are concerned, the suspension in issuing the shares to Slovak investment coupon holders is not a matter that makes us particularly happy or is a source of joy for us. We have perceived this as a measure to wake the Slovak side up.

I am aware of the fact that the Slovak side has many internal political and internal economic problems, and it has very limited space for maneuvering, moving somewhere. Therefore I do understand what they are doing, but this was our last attempt to wake them up.

I hope that a visit by the Slovak premier [as heard] and his current standing in Slovakia might perhaps help also to move a bit forward in this direction—in addition to standard talks by individual members of our government.

[Musilek] Yesterday Tomas Jezek, chairman of the national assets fund, said that it is necessary for the shareholders to be given an opportunity to assume their rights on 15 April at the latest in order that those attending general assemblies will be real shareholders and not the national assets fund representatives. Mr. Premier, do you agree with such a categorical deadline?

[Klaus] I hope that everybody feels that categorial deadlines are at this moment really something totally unsuitable, unnecessary—in the conditions of the economy undergoing transformation, given complicated relations with Slovakia regarding division issues, and I can add more such factors. [passage omitted]

I think that all of us well know that Mr. Tomas Jezek, head of the national assets fund, has used such formulations several times in his political career in the last three years. It is unnecessary because they have to be subsequently withdrawn, as it is not possible to implement them. Therefore I never lay down such ultimata.

Ukraine Expresses Interest in Economic Cooperation

LD3003142893 Prague CTK in English 1347 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)—Ukraine is very much intrerested in economic cooperation with the Czech and Slovak Republics because they are its traditional partners, Valeriy Balaysniy from the Ukranian Ministry of External Economic Relations, told CTK today.

He said it is very unfortunate that the versatile mutual ties which existed between the three republics within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) have been deteriorated.

He recalled the good name of Czech industrial goods such as trolleybuses, trams and electric locomotives for which there is still much demand on the Ukrainian market. He said a five-member Ukraininan delegation has been negotiating a treaty between Ukraine and the Czech Republic for this year in Prague since Monday. He said the delegation had brought a survey of proposals with it. A similar delegation with the same goal will visit Bratislava in late April or early May, he added.

He said that as far as he knew Ukraininan firms are intersted in establishing joint stock companies with Czech enterprises, producing trams, machine tools and consumer goods, primarily shoes. He said these Ukrainian firms are offering to their Czech partners mainly raw materials and ask for assistance in modernising their means of production.

Germany's Stoltenberg Meets With Klaus

LD3003220193 Prague CTK in English 1910 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)—Former German defence minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys today addressed a discussion meeting on new forms of cooperation in Central Europe. They lectured on the Central European security situation and on possible solutions to the military conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Additionally on the meeting's agenda were the problems of permeability of European borders as well as those between the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

On Monday, Stoltenberg met with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, Executive Vice Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Petr Cermak and Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. Today, he discussed the Czech-German relations with Czech Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde.

Later in the day, Stoltenberg leaves for the Slovak Republic to meet with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and several representatives of both the Slovak Parliament and political parties.

Today's discussion meeting was organised by the Prague-based Charles University in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, of which Stoltenberg is deputy chairman. The foundation was established in 1964 to promote democratic and Christian ideas as well as European unity through education and broad mutual contacts (of the countries). The foundation is currently represented in more than 100 cities throughout the world including Prague, Budapest, Warsaw and Moscow.

Divisions Surface at KSCM Extraordinary Plenum

AU3003174493 Prague CTK in English 1456 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 27 (CTK)—Delegates attending today's extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Central Committee voted to close the session to journalists, Chairman Jiri Svoboda's press spokeswoman Blanka Robejskova told journalists today.

Ninety-six of the 108 delegates present voted to exclude the press.

This is not an affair of the whole society, but purely a party matter, Robejskova said.

Spokesman for the For Socialism faction within the party Vaclav Papez, who was expelled from the party two weeks ago along with faction leaders Miroslav Stepan and Jaromir Obzina, is taking part in the session's proceedings. Before 1989 Stepan was head of the Prague Communist Party Committee and Obzina was federal minister of the interior. The faction has called for the Communist Party's return to the original ideals of the world communist movement.

At the KSCM extraordinary session in Prague today, party Deputy Chairman Miroslav Grebenicek sharply criticized party leader Jiri Svoboda.

Some of the delegates to the congress were surprised at Grebenicek's criticism, describing it as his pre-election speech for the post of party chairman.

Despite a strict embargo on any information from the KSCM deliberations, journalists learnt from participants that Grebenicek excluded any cooperation with Svoboda in future.

On March 10 Svoboda announced his intention to resign his chairmanship on March 12. Among the reasons for his decision he named the fact that the KSCM Central Committee did not back his suggestion to change the party's name from the KSCM to the Party of Democratic Socialism at its session March 6. On March 12 Svoboda agreed to hold the post of the KSCM chairman until the party congress, as requested by the KSCM Executive Committee.

Jiri Svoboda remains KSCM chairman as delegates to the party's extraordinary session decided not to hold a vote of no-confidence in him.

Participants agreed to convene a party congress for June to deal with a change in the party's name and some personnel changes in the party leadership.

The KSCM Central Committee recommended to end the membership in the party of Miroslav Stepan, Jaromir Obzina and Vaclav Papez—members of the former For Socialism faction in the party.

The Central Committee supported the stand by the Executive Committee which assessed the appearance in the mass media of Stepan, Obzina and Papez as a breach of the KSCM Statutes.

Two weeks ago they appeared on radio as members of the faction which at that time had already been abolished by decision of the Central Committee.

Police Withdrawn From Border With Slovakia

AU3103082293 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Mar 93 p 2

[CTK report: "Members of the Border Police Are Withdrawing"]

[Text] Zlin/Prague—Members of the Aliens and Border Police ceased performing duties at border crossings with the Slovak Republic on Saturday [27 March] and only customs officers remain there. According to the Czech Interior Ministry spokesman, the assignment has thereby ended, in which "several dozen" border policemen were called upon to assist customs officers during and after the currency split. It was originally expected that the

Government would soon decide on the regime along the border with Slovakia and that the border policemen would remain there. Because the government is not likely to decide on the matter in the coming days, Police President Ivan Vyleta ordered that the border policemen withdraw into their home garrisons.

The Czech Government advocates a stricter border regime at the Czech-Slovak border, particularly for third country nationals. Interior Minister Jan Ruml said that the Czech Republic's border with Slovakia should be guarded in the same way as borders with other neighboring states.

Secret Service Members Exempted from Courts' Jurisdiction

AU3103090993 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Nada Adamickova report: "Criminal Acts by Members of the Security Information Service Will Be Investigated by the Security Information Service"]

[Excerpt] Prague—On 15 April, the day the amendment to the Criminal Code that the Chamber of Deputies passed yesterday comes into force, the investigation of criminal acts committed by members of the Czech Republic Security Information Service [BIS] will fall exclusively into the jurisdiction of the BIS Inspection Authority. This new provision is designed to secure greater protection of information ascertained during investigations of criminal acts committed by BIS members.

Although the amendment was passed by a majority of votes, opposition deputies, in particular, voiced doubts about the new provision because of the danger that some criminal acts by members of the secret service may not come to light at all, in view of the fact that investigators of the BIS Inspection Authority are appointed and recalled by the BIS director. [passage omitted]

Christian Social Union Adopts Program, Elects Chairman

AU3003172893 Prague CTK in English 2016 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Uhersky Brod, South Moravia, March 27 (CTK)—Delegates to the second part of the constituent congress of the Christian Social Union (KSU) approved a ten-point program and status and elected Frantisek Michalek chairman of its Executive Committee.

The party was registered with the Czech Ministry of the Interior in August 1992 and held the first part of its constituent congress November 14.

The party's program constitutes itself as politically centrist and committed to the practical application of Christian universalism. It emphasizes the social role of the state and its role in assisting the development of businesses, education and integration into European structures.

We devoted ourselves today primarily to the mission of the KSU, which is not being formed as an opposition party but which wants to create conditions for human well-being, Michalek said. He added that the KSU does not reject the idea of cooperating with any party concerned with social problems. Our closest ideological partner is the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), he said.

Michalek said the party does not view the problem of restituting church property as black and white. We cannot create a new problem situation in the current social crisis, he said.

He also said that while the KSU requests the preservation of an integrated Czech Republic, it also imagines the renewal of the Moravian-Silesian Land with a government, court, and legislative authority in defined areas.

Meciar Rejects Czech Property Settlement Proposals

AU3103084693 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 29 Mar 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Vladimir Meciar: Unfair Approach"]

[Text] "The conditions for the currency split were the conclusion of an agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on the division of the Czechoslovak State Bank and the preparation of a draft agreement on the settlement of the federation's final account," Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said after his return from an official visit to Russia.

The Slovak prime minister was reacting to a letter from Vaclav Klaus, in which the Czech prime minister expressed disappointment with the Slovak Government's approach to the division of the federation's property. According to the Slovak prime minister, none of these conditions had been met by the set deadline. During his unofficial visit to Prague, the two prime ministers agreed that holders of investment coupons would be protected by the agreement on the protection of private property and that they could not be held hostage to the settlement of relations between the two states. The draft agreements that the Czech Government sent to Slovakia contain factual errors, according to Vladimir Meciar, regarding, for example, the results of the currency split and the assessment of the devaluation of the common currency. The prime minister of the Czech Republic therefore cannot just send a letter with a request for signature but must negotiate first. And not only the prime minister but the entire Czech Government. "I consider the Czech cabinet's approach unfair toward the Slovak Government and toward the citizen," the prime minister added.

The Slovak prime minister voiced disenchantment with the fact that, despite its announcement that it would not opt for the path of suspending the issue of shares [in Slovak companies] to [Czech] holders of investment coupons, the Slovak cabinet was unable to implement its intention because it has not received [from Prague] the necessary data base. "We reject the pressure being exerted on the Slovak side," Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar stressed.

Government Approves Property, Gas Agreement

LD3003221593 Prague CTK in English 2119 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 30 (CTK)—The Slovak Government approved today a Czech-Slovak draft agreement on both property division and further operation of the transit gas pipeline through which gas is carried from the former Soviet Union to the west.

Slovak Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka said at a press conference in Bratislava today that it had been clear from the beginning that the Czech Republic considered the transit gas pipeline to be one of the strategic means, which affect Slovak economy. In the situation when no agreement has been signed, some 1 billion crowns (33 million USD) due to Slovakia in transit fees, are monthly detained by the Czechs, Kubecka said. Slovakia registers the losses as well as the relevant interests, he added. He gave no details on the interest rate, saying that a common average of 14-15 per cent is being considered.

The draft agreement which was approved today counts on the fee of 1.3 USD for 1,000 cubic metres of gas transported along a distance of 100 kilometres. Kubecka stated that the price of 1.4 USD is common throughout the world. But if the Slovak Government did not accept the agreement, the situation would have resulted in even bigger losses, Kubecka emphasised.

The signing of the agreement is only a technical matter, he added.

Meciar Calls Hungarian Parties 'Purely Nationalistic'

AU3003194693 Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Trnava March 27 (CTK)— Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (parliament) Milan Secansky informed the HZDS Congress which began here today that representatives of the HZDS regional office in Dunajska Streda have expressed fear for their personal security and the security of their families.

Dunajska Streda lies in western Slovakia near the Hungarian border. Three-quarters of the population are ethnic Hungarians.

Secansky said that Hungarians in the town have threatened local HZDS officials on several occasions, saying that one day they would shoot them along with the rest of the Slovaks in this town. He added that it is necessary to strengthen the HZDS's position in southern Slovakia.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), Egyutteles and the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) are the predominant parties in Dunajska Streda.

Dunajska Streda Mayor Arpad Ollos told CTK that Secansky's report on threats to local HZDS officials is a complete fabrication.

He added that these accusations and lies would serve as excellent propaganda in areas where Hungarians do not live, and that such arguments are not controllable.

Ollos pointed out that the HZDS received only about three percent of the vote in (the June 1992) elections in Dunajska Streda and has no deciding voice in any elective city bodies either. They may resent this even though they have better representation in the state administration's district office, he said.

Addressing the Third HZDS Congress, Slovak Premier and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar said that yesterday's visit by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to Slovakia proved that Slovakia is considered a country which has a real chance to be the first to create a model for a new type of society in a short period of time. Provided that it is reasonably governed.... It can become a higher priority than the Czech Republic, said Meciar [sentence as received].

He spoke of extensive changes to come in the Slovak economy, and stressed the need to internationalize conditions for investment in Slovakia.

The basic tasks of the (economic) transformation process can be implemented within two years, Meciar said, and added that it is therefore necessary to literally economies life in Slovakia. [as received]

He went on to say that price liberalization must now be followed by the liberalization of labor. The monetary policy will seek to remove restrictions and launch a transition to a neutral monetary policy, he said.

Meciar stated the HZDS will propose a new mechanism for cooperation with other parties in Slovakia for 1993, as the current program for cooperation with the opposition Democratic Left Party (SDL) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) is obsolete. He said the HZDS's aim is to embark upon the road from a sovereign Slovakia to a prosperous Slovakia.

At a short briefing, HZDS Council Chairman Roman Kovac said that deviations to the right and to the left are acceptable in the movement unless they are radical.

On Meciar's statement concerning the necessity of introducing a neutral monetary policy, Kovac said it will be necessary to find a level of restrictions that will not hamper economic development.

Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the Slovak Parliament, described President Michal Kovac's presence at the congress as a political farewell to the HZDS. He recalled the president's resolve to attend the summit meetings of political parties if invited. He said Kovac set as his sights on achieving a broad consensus among Slovakia's political parties.

The HZDS congress was attended by representatives of the SDL, the SNS, the Christian Social Union (KSU), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) and the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS). No foreign guests were invited.

Meciar told journalists at a break of the HZDS session that the movement can change into a political party within a year.

On the alleged participation of Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak in the Zasah (Intervention) action in November 1989 aimed to defend the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, Meciar said Andrejcak's active participation has not been confirmed. (in November 1989 the communist regime was toppled in Czechoslovakia).

The orientation of Hungarian political parties in Slovakia is, in Meciar's opinion, purely nationalistic. The parties do not care at all about Slovakia's economic needs.

On the alleged threats to kill HZDS members in Dunajska Streda, West Slovakia, Meciar said that legal measures must be taken to counter the situation in the area near the Hungarian border where three-quarters of the population are ethnic Hungarians. The HZDS there cannot constitute itself as a purely Slovak political party and must seek to attract also Hungarian citizens to join it. The SDL might serve as an example for the HZDS in this respect, Meciar said.

He absolutely rejected an alleged building of a special armed unit in Slovakia that should be used against people in case of unrest.

On the HZDS's decreasing popularity since the establishment of independent Slovakia (in January 1993), Meciar said it is quite natural as popularity cannot be a goal, but only an instrument of politics. In his opinion, the HZDS program is not identical with that of the Slovak Government.

The HZDS congress continues tomorrow.

Press Warns Against 'Old Cadres' in Secret Service

AU3003171793 Prague CTK in English 0910 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava March 26 (CTK)—[passage omitted] certain people are wandering around the premises where members of the Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS) used to work. It is not known who they are, former FSIS Deputy Director Vladimir Palko says in the trade union daily PRACA. He says that only the director of the Slovak Information Service (SIS) may hire people, but that no director was named after the Slovak parliament passed the law creating the SIS in January, and that with no director, no one may work in the SIS legally. Palko also characterizes the dismissal of former Slovak FSIS employees as an unnecessary hazard, because they could form a functioning basis for the new service. These are people who came to the secret service after November 1989 and served neither in the StB [State Security] nor in other security units of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, he says.

In the daily SLOVENSKY DENNIK, the same Palko says the Slovak Government does not trust the new political structure but prefers the old communist structure. If the government does not want new people from the FSIS in the SIS, then there is a certain danger here that it will turn to the old cadres, he says. [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs Ministry on Jeszenszky's U.S. Visit

LD3003164393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Geza Jeszenszky, who arrived at Washington last night, will hold talks there today and tomorrow. Then he will travel to Toronto and Cleveland, the spokesman reported on the foreign minister's itinerary. Then he said that Janos Martonyi, foreign affairs state secretary, received the Italian ambassador yesterday. Italy is the current president of the Western European Union. The matter of patrol boats to be sent to the sections of the Danube to the north and south of Serbia was on the agenda. These would control the observance of UN sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia. The spokesman emphasized that the Western European Union will make a final decision on it only next week. For that matter, the ships will not be military but of customs authority, civilian ships. Janos Herman added that Hungary is ready to cooperate in it with the Western European Union, but it was not Hungary which asked to send the ships. The Hungarian side considers the observance of the UN embargo at the Hungarian section of the Danube satisfactory. The foreign affairs spokesman also said that the leaders of the parties winning in the French elections have excellent relations with Hungary, which will be advantageous from the point of view of bilateral relations. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall greeted the appointed French head of government Edouard Balladur in a telegram. [passage omitted]

U.S. Report on Human Rights Violations Viewed

LD3003214093 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The U.S. State Department has published its annual report on human rights. Today, Laszlo Varga, the deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, evaluated at his press briefing the report's statements on Hungary. He said that the report is not objective and unbiased on every point. For example, its statement that the Hungarian Government wants to control the radio and television is misleading since the government's aim is only to establish the conditions for an objective and ethical news service. He considers as false the statement that, according to the analysis, it was the government's fault that the Media Law could not be passed, and said that the report also placed too much emphasis on the Csurka matter. Laszlo Varga has forwarded his statements to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the head of the Human Rights Department of the U.S. State Department, asking them to endeavour for objective analysis and not to promote the propaganda of the opposition.

Antall Talks With German Bank President

LD3003171493 Budapest MTI in English 1541 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 30 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met German Federal Bank President Helmut Schlesinger in his office on Tuesday [30 March].

According to the government spokesman's office, Antall said the government's main aim was to maintain the country's stability, a precondition for international confidence.

Schlesinger said that on the basis of its agreements concluded with the World Bank, Hungary was regarded as a creditworthy and reliable business partner. He saw the privatisation process and slowing inflation in Hungary favourably.

On the Balkan war, the sides agreed that it had an adverse effect on Hungary not only because of the economic embargo, but also in view of the position of Yugoslavia's Hungarian minority.

Antall stressed Hungary's support for all solutions likely to lead to a cease-fire.

Speaking about the situation of Russia and Ukraine, he emphasised the need for stability and democratic transformation, as well as the importance of western support.

On the Visegrad Group's future, Antall said that cooperation projects were a chance for political coordination and, through the free-trade agreement, for easier movement of goods, but was by no means an alternative for joining the European Community.

Cabinet Revises Legislation on Privatization Program

LD3003230393 Warsaw PAP in English 2203 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—The Polish Cabinet approved revised draft legislation on the mass privatisation programme, and forwarded the draft to the Sejm (lower house) for urgent consideration.

Resubmission of the legislation became necessary when the Sejm at its last session voted to reject the government's initial proposals regarding the establishment of national investment funds, which are to hold the shareholdings in the companies to be included in the scheme.

Under the revised proposals, the mass privatisation programme will be split into two elements. In the first stage, shares in around 200 firms will be distributed among 5-8 national investment funds. Participation certificates in these funds will be distributed to public sector workers, and to recipients of old-age and disability pensions, as compensation for reductions in automatic indexation of their wages and payments.

In the second stage, shares in a further 400 companies will be distributed among 15 national investment funds. In this part of the scheme, participation certificates will be available to all adult citizens who pay a registration fee equal to 5 percent of average earnings. The size of the payment has been reduced from the 10 percent proposed in the original draft.

Participation in the mass privatisation programme by enterprises will be voluntary, on the basis of opinions expressed by the management and workforce, who will be entitled to a free distribution of 15 percent of the shares in their enterprise. In addition, in response to criticism from the right-wing opposition and others, the government has amended its proposals regarding the national investment funds, to ensure that control is retained by Polish managers.

Commenting on the proposals, Deputy Finance Minister Wojciech Goralczyk said that it was hoped the revised legislation would require only two Sejm readings, instead of the usual three. He added that it was optimistic to suppose that the proposals could be considered at the next session of the Sejm.

Asked to comment on the likely voting intentions of coalition parties, Goralczyk said that negotiations were in progress, and that it would be difficult to predict the outcome of the Sejm vote. He believed, however, that deputies in the parties forming the ruling coalition who were still critical of the mass privatisation programme would most likely abstain, rather than vote against the revised proposals.

Also on Tuesday, the cabinet approved proposals relating to equalisation payments for a range of imported agricultural and food goods. A list of the goods to be covered by the proposals is under preparation by the Agriculture Ministry, and will be published when the law is enacted, Deputy Agriculture Minister Janusz Bylinski announced.

He added that around 500 billion zlotys (30 million dollars) would be required to implement the mechanism by the second year after the passage of the legislation.

After the Cabinet meeting Jacek Kozlowski, director of the Government Press Office, criticised as "irresponsible" press speculation that the introduction of the equalisation payments could lead to increases of 20-30 percent in the price of items covered by the scheme.

Agreement on the equalisation payments was one of the demands recently put forward by the Peasant Agreement (PL) as a condition for its further continuation in the coalition.

ZChN Chairman Discusses Privatization, Anti-Semitism

AU3103134893 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the Christian-National Union (ZChN), by Ewa Milewicz, place and date not given: "'Poles' Are Poles"]

[Text] [Milewicz] You have an opposition inside your own party. Jan Lopuszanski, until recently chief of the Executive Council, accuses the party leadership of pursuing a policy that is too pragmatic. He claims that that entire world, including the political world, should be Christian. Lopuszanski talks about having reached breaking point. Do you not fear a split?

[Chrzanowski] A split is quite a normal occurrence in any party. In the ZChN, they concern tactics. At our February congress, I said that a grand coalition is justified at a time of transition like the present, when political changes are occurring. I mean a grand coalition in the sense that it joins parties that might be ideologically divided from each other, but are united in their support for Poland's interests.

[Milewicz] Nine ZChN deputies voted against the government's privatization program, and several did not even attend the vote. Will these deputies vote for the revised privatization program?

[Chrzanowski] Yes, if the government does makes amendments to the program that make it acceptable to them. Privatization and reprivatization is an issue that causes disputes in the postcommunist countries.

[Milewicz] At the party congress, Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski said he feared that the Germans and the World Jewish Congress might file claims for assets left behind in Poland, and that the Germans might return to Lodz. But I find no mention of this problem in the ZChN programmatic declaration.

[Chrzanowski] I think it contain a single sentence on reprivatization. It will take more than one generation to repair all the damage. It is necessary to valuate the assets in the hands of the state. As to the fears you expressed in your question, only Polish citizens resident in Poland will be entitled to a return of assets, in accordance with the draft legislation currently in the Sejm.

[Milewicz] Goryszewski also said he hopes that the National Radio and Television Council will consist of "Poles and Christians." What does "Poles" mean?

[Chrzanowski] "Poles" means Poles.

[Milewicz] Applicants joining the ZChN fill in a form that asks for one's "nationality."

[Chrzanowski] No, there is no such question on the form, though there was supposed to be. In any case, I see nothing wrong with that.

[Milewicz] Well, let us assume I wanted to join the ZChN and I said on the form that I am Jewish. Would I be able to join?

[Chrzanowski] Of course. I once knew a Jewish woman during the German occupation who joined the National Party [Stronnictwo Narodowe] and even became chief of distribution in the Warsaw area. For me, nationality is a question of personal choice. In the 1950's, I shared a prison cell with a Zionist, the lawyer Dawid Draznin, and we both agreed that people should be judged independently of their nationality. When he left prison, he feared a pogrom. He asked my mother to look after his son.

To me, nationality is of no importance.

[Milewicz] Does everyone in your party say the same?

[Chrzanowski] I cannot say for sure.

[Milewicz] The reason I am asking is that when Bronislaw Geremek spoke in the Sejm about the Polish raison d'etat—and he was speaking on behalf of the coalition, in other words the ZChN as well—Deputy Bogumila Boba said this of him: "Mr. Geremek has Polish citizenship, but that does not necessarily mean he is a Pole."

[Chrzanowski] Yes, Niesiolowski, chief of our deputies club, had trouble following Geremek's speech, because Geremek, who was supposed to be speaking on behalf of all of us, had openly expressed his own, divergent views. But I was not the one who complained. I do not insist that everyone views matters the way I do. I would like them to do so, that is all.

Army Redeployed to Eastern Border

AU3003083693 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27-28 Mar 93 p 2

['rost' report: "We Are Heading East"]

[Text] "In two years' time, 45 percent of the Polish Armed Forces will already be stationed in the eastern part of the country. Only 25 percent are stationed there right now. The unstable situation in Russia has no effect on the speed of the redeployment of the forces," Minister of National Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz told journalists after the 26 March closed session of the Sejm National Defense Commission.

The Commission refrained from making an assessment of the restructuring of the Armed Forces until it has acquainted itself with the documents that lay down the division of responsibilities between the Ministry of National Defense and the General Staff.

The meeting also discussed relationships between the institutions responsible for state security.

"One of the Ministry's most important tasks is to transfer military units and their equipment to the east," said Minister Onyszkiewicz. The current deployment of forces, 75 percent in the west of Poland, and 25 percent in the east, is a relic of the Warsaw Pact, he said. The Ministry's plan is to carry out a military redeployment in such a way that by the end of 1995, 55 percent of the Armed Forces will be in the west of Poland and 45 percent in the east.

"The biggest problem is the absence of a suitable infrastructure in eastern Poland," Minister Onyszkiewicz said. "Even so, this year's conscripts will be sent to units in the east."

In the next few years, the Ministry of National Defense wants to alter the structure of the Polish Army to bring it in line with the NATO pattern. The outdated, army-division structure is to be replaced by a division-brigade structure. That means that one division will consist of three brigades—two of them "empty" (soldiers would be assigned to them only in the case of mobilization,) and the third one fully manned and capable of entering full combat duties within 24 hours. At present, it takes as much as seven days to prepare some regiments for combat.

Each brigade would consist of 2,000 to 5,000 men, and would be equipped with the most modern equipment of Polish manufacture. The first brigade forming part of the new military structure is to be formed this year, in the north of Poland. The remainder will be formed in border areas.

Government Not To Reconsider Appointment of Prefects

AU3003164793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1993—Viorel Hrebenciuc, secretary general of the Romanian Government, told a March 30 press conference that in his opinion the appointment of new prefects had been "a normal procedure."

He pointed out that "appointing government representatives in the territory is a political matter, not an ethnic one." This is a government prerogative, he said, and the government saw fit to use it to further its strategy and programme as sanctioned by the parliament.

Despite the rallies announced for Friday, April 2, in the Harghita and Covasna counties (with a majority population of Hungarian ethnics), the Romanian Government will not reconsider its decision to appoint Romanian prefects there—Government Secretary General Viorel Hrebenciuc told a March 30 press conference at the Victory Palace (government headquarters).

Secretary of State Octav Cosmirca, head of the Local Administration Department, told the same press conference "such a possibility is inconceivable," as it would run counter to the Romanian Constitution.

UDMR Urges Rallies To Protest Appointments

AU3003194493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1622 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1993—"The territorial organizations and local administration bodies in the counties of Covasna and Harghita are unanimous in considering the recent measure by which the Romanian Government appointed Romanian prefects at the head of the two counties inhabited by a majority ethnic Hungarian population as a new and grave ethnic discrimination against the ethnic Hungarians in Romania," writes a communique given by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania].

In the opinion of its authors, the Romanian Government's measure "is a clear proof of the discriminatory policy based on the concept of the national state" and forms "a violation of the democratic principles of the European thinking."

"We hereby declare," the statement runs, "that we shall act by resorting to the various means of political struggle and of civic insubordination until the decision is canceled." The statement ends with a call to the ethnic Hungarians in the two counties to take part in protest rallies.

Spokesman Denies 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Hungarians

AU3003203493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Our editorial office received a communique issued by the spokesman of Romania's presidency which states that the declaration of the Council of Representatives of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] issued on 27 March 1993, deliberately and malevolently distorts the situation of the Hungarian minority in our country.

After detailing the rights of ethnic minorities in Romania, recognized by the Constitution and the laws of the country—in this respect mentioning the existence and activity of the UDMR itself, a political party organized on ethnic lines, the free election and representation of ethnic Hungarians, both in Parliament and in local administration, the unhampered professional and economic activity of members of the Hungarian minority—the spokesman notes that all these demonstrate that there is a complete accord between the provisions of the country's laws and the social reality.

Further, the spokesman notes that the appointment of new prefects, including appointments in the counties of Harghita and Covasna, is a constitutional prerogative that the government is exercising on the basis of its mandate that resulted from last year's parliamentary elections and it is assuming the responsibilities that derive from the act of ruling, stressing that no administrative section that is part of the territory of the country can be exempted from the authority of the Romanian Government, regardless of its ethnic composition or other considerations that concern the situation of minorities.

The communique also adds that the UDMR declaration issued in Oradea not only supports the recent statements of its honorary president, Laszlo Tokes, that the Hungarian minority in Romania is allegedly being submitted to a process of ethnic cleansing, but also claims that for several decades the continuity of a nationalistic type of hegemony has been ensured, resulting in the alteration of the ethnic structure of various areas in Transylvania. The basis of all these irresponsible assertions, which are disqualified by their lack of truth, is the appointment of the two prefects in the counties of Harghita and Covasna. The insulting use of the expression ethnic cleansing for processes that are absolutely constitutional and legal in a state of law, said the Presidency's spokesman, can only sow confusion among those who do not know the Romanian realities, a fact that is capable of causing material and moral damage to the Romanian state and people.

To conclude his declaration, the Presidency's spokesman says, quote, Romania's president calls on the leadership of the UDMR to refrain from creating artificial tension in connection with the appointment of prefects in the counties of Harghita and Covasna and to observe the

rules of the state of law, European democratic values, and constitutional norms in the exercising of its political functions, and, in this respect, it should choose to withdraw the Oradea declaration issued on 27 March 1993.

At the same time, Romania's president addresses an appeal to all social and political forces to show calm and moderation, respect for the Constitution and unite all efforts—now more necessary than ever—to pull the country out of a difficult social and economic situation.

Government Sets up Council of National Minorities

AU2903161693 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Attila Varga, parliamentary deputy of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Zoltan Szondy in Miercurea Ciuc; date not given: "The 'Council of Minorities' Is Being Formed—Goodwill or Window Dressing?"]

[Text] At the latest session of the Romanian Government, a decision directly affecting the Transylvanian Hungarians was made. It decided to set up the "Council of National Minorities in Romania." This council will operate within the framework of the government and its work will be directed by Government Principal Secretary Viorel Hrebenciuc.

It is enough to know about Hrebenciuc that he led Ion Iliescu's presidential campaign in September 1992—and with rare expertise. According to impartial observers, the election success of Ion Iliescu and the Democratic National Salvation Front [DFSN] was partly due to Hrebenciuc's well-managed promotional campaign.

Establishing that the "Council of Minorities" is not without precedents, the Romanian authorities have tried a number of times to manage the delicate problems of national minorities "from above." No use trying to find out with how much success....

Attila Varga said the following about the details.

[Varga] The establishment of the council was only decided yesterday. This was only the first step and consultations will begin later. The office's statute and the conditions of its operation have not yet been discussed. Similar offices also existed in the Petre Roman and the Stolojan governments but they were nothing more than window dressing.

[Szondy] Have the tasks of this council been outlined?

[Varga] Yes, in principle. It should make proposals for laws concerning the national minorities and, as this council will operate within the government, it has the advantage that the issues discussed can be immediately passed on to the government. Naturally, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ- UDMR in Romanian] would like this council to have as broad a sphere of authority as possible.

[Szondy] Is the RMDSZ also represented in this council?

[Varga] The membership has not yet been decided, but it is very likely that some RMDSZ parliamentarians will also participate in the work. This is also an interesting fact: The parliamentary representatives of the RMDSZ will be part of a government body.

[Szondy] The predecessors of the "Council of National Minorities" did not come up to expectations. Will it be different this time?

[Varga] Naturally, we cannot be at ease this time, either, because the establishment does not mean anything in itself. We have very many offices whose names remind us of their original tasks but they are now dealing with completely different things.

Hrebenciuc Outlines Functions of New Council

AU3003154693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Government Secretary-General Viorel Hrebenciuc and the head of the Local Public Administration Department, Octav Cosmirca, held a news conference today at Victoria Palace [Government headquarters].

At the beginning of the news conference, Victor Hrebenciuc detailed the recent government decision to establishment and functioning of the Consultative Council for Ethnic Minorities. He pointed out that this council is a body of the Romanian Government coordinated by the government secretary-general and that its aim is to improve the exercising of the rights of ethnic minorities living in Romania, in compliance with the provisions of Romania's Constitution and those of the strategy of economic and social reform as expressed by the government program.

The main purpose of the council, Hrebenciuc added, is to ensure good liaison between legal organizations of people belonging to ethnic minorities and the government. Its jurisdiction extends over legislative, administrative, and financial issues connected to the exercising of ethnic minority rights concerning the perpetuation, development, and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity, as stipulated by the Constitution, currently valid laws, and international agreements and treaties signed by Romania.

The Consultative Council for Ethnic Minorities will officially be set up next week, Victor Hrebenciuc said. It will consist of representatives of the following specialized central public administration bodies: The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Interior, Finance, Culture, Education, Religion, and the Local Public Administration of the Government. Each of those representatives will have the function of a secretary of state

or general director. The council is to be led by a special commissioner of the government, having the function of an undersecretary of state.

Among its other duties, the council is to establish and maintain contacts between the government and the representatives of ethnic minorities' local organizations, to make proposals concerning certain draft bills and decisions to be elaborated by the government, and to suggest administrative measures that should be taken by the government to solve various problems of ethnic minorities.

Vacaroiu Criticizes Corruption, Tax Evasion

AU3003165893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1993—Underscoring that lately "corruption and fiscal evasion have taken serious proportions," Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu stated in a televised programme his cabinet's "determination" to fight them.

"No half-measures," he said. "The final investigation must be taken to full completion, irrespective of the position held by that particular person" or "how high or low his chair is."

Premier Vacaroiu said the Prosecutor's Office had been handed 1,900 files so far and promised that within the new television series on corruption he would answer—when investigations will have reached the final phase—questions on the great scandals that have agitated the Romanian public. In that context reference was made to "the Sugar Affair," "the Cigarettes Affair," "the Wheat Affair" and others, pointing out that the unsatisfactory successes is discovering and putting an end to corruption phenomena so far were due to lack of toughness in legislation and penalties, as well as to certain "gaps" in legislation.

The chief of the Romanian executive showed the government had submitted to Parliament a number of laws that would enable the concerned institutions (Prosecutor's Office, Financial Guard, Customs Police, etc.) to diminish corruption. "Without toughening penalties we will never manage to stop this plague," he said, underscoring that "the pervasiveness of corruption will lead to Romania's losing credibility with the serious foreign investors."

Negritoiu, World Bank-EC Delegation Discuss Reforms

AU3003170893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1993—State Minister Misu Negritoiu, head of the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform, met Tuesday, March 30 with a joint mission of the World Bank, the EC Commission and other donors, comprised of 35 specialists who have been in Romania three weeks to elaborate the special programme for reform and restructuring in agriculture and food industry.

The delegation is headed by Godfried Ablasser and was accompanied by the head of the World Bank mission in Romania, Mrs. Antraut Hartman.

During the interview matters were approached related to privatisation, demonopolisation, price liberalisation, the system of credits and subsidies in agriculture, support for private farmers and development of food production, especially dairy factories.

The Romanian Government will take the report of the World Bank mission into consideration when carrying out the reform measures and it will also be the basis for the programmes of foreign financing—especially by the World Bank—for the Romanian agriculture.

Parliament Discusses 1993 State Budget

AU3003171493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1242 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1993—The two chambers of the Romanian Parliament held a joint sitting on March 30, in order to discuss the 1993 state budget.

In the opening, state-minister, Minister of Finance Florin Georgescu presented the reasons the budget bill rely on and the estimated framework for the budget execution according to the data provided by the bill. He also underscored the government choice to promote a more active economic policy as displayed by the bill. The minister also outlined the economic policy's main goals: to amend the legal framework in order to stimulate the free competition and to improve the economic efficiency; to stop the decline and to promote the recovery of the economy by a full employment of production capacities, investments and export-oriented production.

Other objectives of the government policy are: a fine settlement of the relations between employers and employees as well as between the state and the commercial companies or public corporations; a salary policy matching the work productivity level; an increase in privatisation speed; a cut in the number of public corporations; promotion of exports by financing, guaranteeing and insuring activities in the name of the state; facilities for foreign financing of production activities in order to increase the exports.

Minister Florin Georgescu said that the budget indicators were drawn out considering the 1993 average exchange rate to the U.S. dollar, the elimination of the subsidies for goods and services covered by the social protection program on next May 1 together with the indexation of the salaries, pensions and other social allowances or benefits; the value added tax to be applied with July 1, 1993; the subsidies granted in December 1992 that are included in the 1993 budget.

Naming the budget bill as one of "austerity", the finance minister said that such a term was proper considering the following: a strict limitation of the expenditures; social protection financing; development of the infrastructure according to the market economy rigors; stimulation of the economic efficiency by tax measures; structural and functional stabilization of the national economy in order to create the requisites for a recovery. Continuing the March 30 sitting of the Parliament, Senator Dan Stelian presented in behalf of the two chambers' specialty commissions, the report on the bill of 1993 state budget.

The report of the budget and finance commissions shows that the budget deficit foreseen for the current year is big and solutions ought to be found to cut it down. To this end, the commissions suggest the raising of the state budget revenues by adding the arrears resulting from last year's financial blockage from the profit tax, the turnover tax and the excise taxes, worth 130-140 billion lei, amounts of money that can be traced in the documents unpaid for since the year's beginning, the taking over from the National Bank of a part of the net profit for 1992, worth 20 billion lei. It is also proposed for 1993 that the whole net profit, estimated at some 30 billion lei, made by the National Bank be transferred to the state budget. The specialty commissions mentioned in their report that the budget effort could be cut by 95 billion lei. The report refers also to the cutting down of the executive authorities' expenditures by some 15 billion lei, by revamping the organizational structures, cutting down material expenditures and giving up some investments that are not absolutely necessary.

The commissions assess that, in the context of raising the state budget revenues and by cutting down some expenditures the budget deficit for 1993 could be cut down by 300 billion lei.

Trade Unions Call for Nationwide General Strike

AU3103141593 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Liana Buligan: "Over 2 Million People Will Take to the Streets on 20 April"]

[Text] Trade Unions will no longer sign protocols prompted by circumstances. Parliament votes for its own incompetence. Bucharest will become a closed city. Trade Unions do not accept being held responsible for the disaster of the Romanian economy. [subhead]

The Extraordinary National Council of the CSI [Independent Trade Unions] Fratia decided to start retaliatory steps, including the following actions in which the two large CNC [National Consultative Council] confederations, namely the CNSLR [National Council of Free Trade Unions of Romania] and ALFA will also join:

—on 12 April 1993: a 2-hour warning strike, to be followed by marches and rallies throughout the country.

—on 20 April 1993 general strike for an unlimited period of time.

The claims voiced are the following: to liberalize salaries by eliminating the basic salary; to ensure at least 80 percent of the salary-prices relationship compared with October 1990; to moderate price increases; to negotiate the minimum salary and guarantee payment; to ensure an adequate budget for education, health care, and agriculture; to ensure jobs for the unemployed and ensure real social protection, to stop the deliberate bankruptcy in industry; and to take forceful measures to fight corruption and crime.

The presidents of the three CNC confederations declared that they count on a participation in the general strike of 75-80 percent of all the trade union members, that would represent over 2 million people. "The internationalization of the conflict between trade unions and government will be protection from possible attempts to damage trade unions and manipulate their actions toward the political sphere."—said Miron Mitrea, president of the CSI Fratia.

Srebrenica Refugees Die Boarding UN Evacuation Convoy

AU3103101493 Paris AFP in English 0937 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 (AFP)—Several people were killed early Wednesday [31 March] when refugees rushed to climb aboard a convoy evacuating civilians from the besieged Moslem town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, a UN spokesman said in Belgrade.

"There was a rush in Srebrenica causing several dead during an evacuation of civilians from this enclave," spokesman Lyndall Sachs told AFP.

She did not have further details and could not give the exact number.

A baby and an old man were killed Monday during an evacuation.

The 19 trucks in Wednesday's convoy had "probably already left Srebrenica" and were overloaded with refugees, Sachs said.

"Our trucks are subject to rushes (of refugees) as soon as they arrive in Srebrenica," Sachs said, adding that the UN operation there was far below the needs.

Tens of thousands of people, mainly Moslems, have taken refuge in Srebrenica, which is besieged by Serb forces.

Cease-fire Violations Reported in Sarajevo Area

LD3103075993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] In violation of the current cease-fire, occasional provocations and fire were recorded on all battlefields in Sarajevo and the vicinity overnight and this morning. It is claimed that artillery weapons were not used. Sarajevo radio has reported that a soldier of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was seriously wounded.

The cease-fire was also violated in several locations in northern Bosnia. Serb and Muslim forces clashed particularly fiercely near Gradacac and Doboj. No artillery weapons were used in these battles either.

Serbs Accused of 'Serious' Cease-Fire 'Violation'

AU3003141693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by Velid Djindo from Olovo]

[Text] Olovo was yesterday exposed to a barrage of howitzer shells and mortars, while today at 1015 105-mm howitzers from the direction of Brdo, and mortars from (?Jelis) again pounded civilian targets in the town. It was fierce on the Lukavica front, where the aggressor fired mortars and used sowers of death, antiaircraft machine guns, and other infantry weapons.

According to the reports from other parts of the 40-kilometer-long Olovo front, the enemy is continuing provocations using small arms. We are calling on UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives to come to Olovo finally and to see for themselves this serious violation of the latest cease-fire, but also the extent of the tragedy that the Olovo civilian population is having to cope with month after month.

Serbs Threaten to Leave Conference if Sanctions Imposed

LD3003142093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—If new sanctions are imposed against the FRY, knowing that they are unjust and one-sided, we will abandon the international conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], in Zvornik where he was interviewed by TANJUG today.

I hope that at its forthcoming session the Serb republic assembly will verify this standpoint of our delegation, he added, stressing that political changes would be unavoidable after such a decision.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has indicated that in this event a new conference on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be unavoidable and our starting position would be far better, Koljevic said.

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Serbs Block UN Convoy Despite Mladic's Assurances

AU3003135693 Paris AFP in English 1338 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 30 (AFP)—The latest U.N. relief convoy trying to get through to starving

Moslems in the eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica was blocked Tuesday [30 March] at this Serbian border town.

Lyndall Sachs, a spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Belgrade, said Bosnian Serb military leader General Ratko Mladic had "promised" to intervene to let the convoy into eastern Bosnia, which his forces control. It was still blocked as of 1300 GMT.

She had high hopes, she said, that the convoy would get under way again later Tuesday for Srebrenica, whose 70,000 inhabitants have been dying of hunger and exposure after 11 months of siege by Bosnian Serbs.

The 16-truck convoy carrying 150 tonnes of food, plastic sheeting and tents was stopped Monday in Mali Zvornik shortly after setting out, though earlier reports from Zagreb said it had been allowed to continue on its way. It had been expected in Srebrenica Monday night.

Another UNHCR convoy, which left Belgrade Monday for the Moslem enclave of Zepa, 70 kilometers (43 miles) east of Sarajevo, was blocked by heavy snows Tuesday in the moutainous region of Podromanija, Sachs said.

On the ground, the U.N.-brokered cease-fire was holding for the third day Tuesday though a U.N. military spokesman in Sarajevo said it was "tenuous" with sporadic violations reported around the country, though he did not say by whom.

Serbian military sources, cited in the Serbian press, accused Moslem forces of "armed provocation" in Doboj, in the north.

Bosnian radio reported that artillery fire had left three dead and five injured in Srebrenica, but U.N. forces spokesman Major Barry Frewer said he had no such reports.

The Bosnian Serb military command in Herzegovina, based in Bileca, said the latest truce was the first of some 50 ceasefires negotiated in the year-long war in Bosnia-Herzegovina "that was not violated the next day by any of the parties in the conflict".

In Geneva, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said he hoped the next evacuation of Moslems from Srebrenica "will be done in a more orderly fashion" after the "absolute chaos" of the one Monday, in which 2,436 people were taken to the Moslem-controlled town of Tuzla.

Redmond said local people hoping for a place assaulted the 19 trucks trying to leave late Sunday, forcing some to spend the night.

It was the second and largest convoy to leave Srebrenica in 11 months of siege, after one on March 20 that carried out 674 women and children who were later sheltered in schools in Lukavac, 15 kilometers (nine miles) west of Tuzla.

Redmond said the "UNHCR will try to work out with the local authorities some kind of screening, but there are thousands of desperate people who would just do about anything to get out."

"It highlights the need for the U.N. to have a permanent lifeline so we can convince these people they are not left alone to die," he said.

The Srebrenica refugees brought Monday to Tuzla, where they were temporarily housed in a sports complex, were moved Tuesday to schools in another town, Srebenik, 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the north.

Tuzla mayor Selim Beslagic said 60,000 refugees have flooded Tuzla since the end of October, creating "difficulties" since all its schools were now full with refugees.

From now on, place would have to be found in towns around Tuzla, he said.

Serbs Authorize New UN Convoy for Srebrenica

AU3003141893 Paris AFP in English 1357 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (AFP)—Serbian authorities permitted a new U.N. convoy to enter Bosnia-Herzegovina on Tuesday [30 March] with aid for starving Moslems in the enclave of Srebrenica, a U.N. spokeswoman said here.

The convoy had been blocked since Monday in the Serbian border town of Mali Zvornik despite earlier agreements by Serbian leaders to let aid reach besieged Moslem populations in eastern Bosnia.

Lyndall Sachs, spokeswoman in Belgrade for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said the 16-truck convoy was allowed to take the bridge over the River Drina into Bosnia at about 3:00 P.M. (1200 GMT).

Sachs said the convoy had been blocked by a Bosnian Serb officer, Vlado Dakic, who refused to let it cross the bridge.

Sachs said earlier that the commander of Bosnian Serb military forces, General Ratko Mladic, had "promised" to intervene to let the convoy into eastern Bosnia, which his forces control.

The convoy should be able to reach Srebrenica, whose 70,000 inhabitants have been dying of hunger and exposure after 11 months of siege by Bosnian Serbs, later Tuesday.

The 16-truck convoy is carrying 150 tonnes of food, plastic sheeting and tents.

Another UNHCR convoy, which left Belgrade on Monday for the Moslem enclave of Zepa, 70 kilometers (43 miles) east of Sarajevo, was blocked by heavy snow Tuesday in the mountainous region of Podromanija, Sachs said.

Bosnian Serb Commander Guarantees Safety for UN Convoy

LD3003165193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, today gave guarantees that an Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] conovy, which is stranded in Mali Zvornik, would smoothly travel to Srebrenica and evacuate Muslims from that besieged town, the Zagreb UNHCR office has announced.

UN Convoy Leaves for Srebrenica; 2 Trucks Turned Back

LD3003180793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—A convoy of 14 trucks of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees left for Srebrenica this afternoon. The convoy will, it is suggested, evacuate a new group of Muslim civilians from Srebrenica to Tuzla tomorrow.

A total of 16 trucks arrived at a border crossing in Karakaj, but two trucks were turned back on the right bank of the Drina.

A TANJUG correspondent was told in the command of the Zvornik garrison of the army of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] that the two vehicles were turned back because they were carrying stoves and tents, which are—as stated—military equipment and not humanitarian aid for civilians.

The Serb side expressed willingness to observe agreements reached last week by top representatives of the command of the army of the Serb republic and UN peacekeeping forces.

In the meantime, Serbs from Tuzla are practically prevented from leaving, and the local authorities there even claim that Serbs do not want to leave Tuzla.

Airlift on Hold Until Serb Assurances Received

AU3003121093 Paris AFP in English 1152 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Geneva, March 30 (AFP)—Western countries are waiting for Bosnian Serb assurances about the safety of German aircraft before resuming their humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo, sources at the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said here Tuesday [30 March].

The U.N.-sponsored airlift to the besieged capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina was suspended 10 days ago when a British aircraft reported being shot at.

Since then there have been threats against German planes on the Sarajevo run and taking part with French and American planes in parachuting supplies in eastern Bosnia to isolated Moslem communities.

The UNHCR sources said the United States, France, Britain, Canada and Germany, the airlift operators, wanted the Serbian threats dealt with politically and were seeking a statement of guarantees at the highest level, in particular from General Ratko Mladic, head of the Serbian forces in Bosnia.

Serbs Fire at Planes Dropping Aid on Zepa

AU3003192893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by the Zepa Press Center]

[Text] Chetniks fired from their stronghold in (?Borika) at the aircraft dropping humanitarian aid on Zepa. The chetniks then turned all their artillery against the Zepa area [words indistinct]. The thing we feared most, that people would again start dying of hunger, has happened. Hunger has again started claiming lives. We buried three children and an old woman today. The humanitarian aid will come too late for them. [passage indistinct]

Morillon Tells Izetbegovic of Opening of Tuzla Air Bridge

AU3003193393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] As we have said, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and the members of our delegation at the New York talks returned to Sarajevo just two hours ago. Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic; Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; and Dr. Muhamed Filipovic, deputy in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly were in our delegation. Ratka Demirovic, reporter of Television Bosnia-Herzegovina, reports from the presidency building.

[Demirovic] The only member of our delegation who has not returned is Miro Lazovic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, who has stayed behind and is expected to make several official visits to European parliaments in the next few days.

Immediately upon arrival, President Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Silajdzic met with General Morillon, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for Bosnia-Herzegovina. General Morillon briefed the president on the situation in Srebrenica, and his own activities aimed at alleviating the suffering of the civilian population in that region. Because of the increasingly difficult land routes, and the growing need to evacuate a large number of sick and wounded from this town, General Morillon announced the prompt opening of the Srebrenica-Tuzla air bridge.

Members of our delegation at the New York talks are expected to hold a news conference tomorrow.

Morillon 'Optimistic' on Political Solution

AU3103112193 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Telephone interview with General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN troops in Bosnia, in Sarajevo by Ursula Welter in the Cologne studio "last night"—recorded; Morillon's first three answers in German, subsequent statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[Welter] Is the current cease-fire, which has been in effect officially since Sunday, being respected?

[Morillon] Yes, certainly. But the balance is very fragile, very difficult. [Passage indistinct] that one window is open, but we must not lose any time.

[Welter] The cease-fire is very fragile.

[Morillon] Yes, certainly, very fragile. We have the opportunity for some provocation, which is why I have asked this time to initiate practical developments very quickly [sentence as heard]. We must make some practical progress to avoid becoming immobile.

[Welter] You are saying that practical progress is necessary in the talks, in the negotiations?

[Morillon] In the negotiations, yes. After the symbolic progress that has been achieved, only practical things... [sentence incomplete as heard; Morillon falters, says that he will now continue in English]. We must now avoid the impression of being immobile.

[Welter] Who are your partners in the talks? You have spoken of provocation. Who is responsible for such acts, and who are your partners in the negotiations to take action against such acts of provocation and to protect the cease-fire?

[Morillon, speaking German again] I have been in contact with the leaders—President Izetbegovic, Karadzic—to protect the current cease-fire. That is very difficult.

[Welter] General Morillon, you have spoken of provocation. Can you tell us who is responsible for these provocations?

[Morillon, in English with superimposed German translation] The risk is that, at the individual level, some local leaders might go for provocation. After all, they do not have to fear much. That is the risk we are facing, because the cease-fire is still very fragile. I am worried that we might fall back into the vicious circle of provocation and retaliation. Everyone at the highest level has to be very careful about that.

[Welter] You have suggested sending UN troops to Srebrenica to stabilize the cease-fire there. What could the result be?

[Morillon] We already have UN troops on the ground. My objective over the next few days is to station a few more to strengthen the demilitarization process in Srebrenica. You certainly know that a third road convoy reached Srebrenica tonight, and that the airlift can probably be resumed the day after tomorrow to evacuate the severely wounded. In this situation I have asked myself whether the security of the people is guaranteed to sufficiently now that I am back here in Sarajevo.

[Welter] Do you think that the Serbs will accept the stationing of further UN soldiers in Srebrenica?

[Morillon] I have asked them, and they promised to answer within the next two or three days.

[Welter] We have heard a lot about the situation in Srebrenica. General, what do you know about the situation in the other cities in eastern Bosnia?

[Morillon] In the other cities the situation has remained difficult. Yet, their situation has never been as desperate as that of Srebrenica. As far as I know at the moment, the situation in Gorazde and Zepa remains difficult, but it is not as dramatic as it was in Srebrenica.

[Welter] Do you know anything about how successful the supply of relief goods has been?

[Morillon] I repeat that the third convoy has reached Srebrenica. We have evacuated women, children, and elderly people—more than 3,000 so far. Volunteers remain in the city. The tense situation has eased after the arrival of the humanitarian aid, and because of peace—well, it is not real peace, it is a cease-fire.

[Welter] Do you know whether the people actually received the medicines and the food that German and American aircraft dropped over Srebrenica?

[Morillon] I think the people there do not know where the relief goods come from. They are simply very happy that something is falling from the sky.

[Welter] Do the Serbs regard German participation in the airlift as a provocation?

[Morillon] They told us so. The decision was made in Geneva, and I will not comment on decisions that were taken elsewhere.

[Welter] General Morillon, we have heard from London that the blue helmets who are stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be exchanged at an international level in May.

[Morillon] It will not be an exchange, but rather an assignment of additional forces, according to the will of the Security Council. We need additional forces to implement the Vance-Owen plan. As you know, the objective is to demilitarize the area and restore peace. So nothing will change, because any changes will require agreement by all three sides.

[Welter] How would you describe your influence on the three parties that are engaged in this war?

[Morillon] No comment. I think that my influence stems from the fact that I have been in the area for more than a year now. Since I was appointed chief commander here, I have had more than 200 meetings, involving everyone from every side. My influence is based on the knowledge that I have now. I can assure you that anyone in my position would have done the same, and would have had to do the same. It is not a question of General Morillon, but of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and the United Nations, which are acting here through General Morillon. Do you understand what I mean?

[Welter] Looking toward New York and the state of the peace talks, do you still have any hope that there can be a political solution for the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Morillon] Yes, I am optimistic. The only reason for my presence in Srebrenica before was the conviction that if a tragedy were to take place there, progress that we have already achieved would be jeopardized. Yet, since this tragedy could be avoided, prospects are very good for peace knocking at our door. We will try to keep the door open.

Commentary Assesses Izetbegovic-Tudjman Agreement

AU3003175193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Several days ago, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, signed a new document on interstate cooperation. The public statement revealed the basic features of this agreement, which primarily refer to the resistance against the common aggressor. This political move was logical, but the question is why it came so late and whether the Croatian side will respect it. Here is a commentary by Zvonimir Vidovic.

[Vidovic] First of all, we have to recognize and accept three phenomena as an inevitable reality. The first one is so clear that it does not require any particular proof. Both states, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, can survive only with each other, and even a formal announcement of a confederation would be only that, formal. That process will develop inevitably in time, if there is enough wisdom and if nature is allowed to take its course, until the borders are practically erased. Any process to the contrary is a step back in view of the trend of civilization.

Secondly, every disagreement, not to mention armed conflict, between Muslims and Croats is a most powerful weapon in the hands of the conquerors of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is why they are doing all they can to provoke just that, including special indoctrination [obrada] of the Croatian Democratic Community leaders, who, politically blinded and filled with fear of the Serbian chetniks, are trying somehow to latch on to pieces of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [sentence as heard] The truth is that Croatia is being defended on the River Drina, but not in the HOS [Croatian Armed Forces—paramilitary organization] version or the Independent State of Croatia [the pro-Nazi Croatian puppet state during the Second World War, whose territory encompassed Bosnia-Herzegovina] version but through the existence of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Without Bosnia, there can be no real life in [words indistinct], and until we flush the chetniks out of Trebinje, there will be no breeze for the flag of freedom over Dubrovnik. And so on. Throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The third point is in the form of common tragedy. Even now, from Prozor to Zenica, some Croats and Muslims are eyeing each other over their gun sights. But everything is the same for them, the ground under their feet and the stars above their heads. The only difference is in the names of their religions, and both of those have arrived from the same part of the world and are homogeneous. They believe in one and, in fact, the same God. How these fools must have fallen from grace. As if the only point to their lives were in their neighbor's death. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims and Croats have not one single humanly reasonable cause for disagreement except for the sheer stupidity and perversity of those who take advantage of such a disagreement.

This was exactly the case before the latest agreement between Izetbegovic and Tudjman. That is why at least three questions arise. They need to be answered to explain the behavior so far. First, have the gentlemen in question considered the causes for the violations of previous agreements? Second, what guarantees are there that this agreement will not be violated, too, that is, that it will be consistently observed? Third, what will happen if the agreement is not respected? Are there any reservations there, any responsibility or duty? Of whom and to whom? The stakes involved in the implementation of what was said and signed are too great for the future history and destiny of both the states and the nations of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Tudjman had all too often callously broken his word until about 10 days ago. Has something particularly important happened in the meantime? At first glance, it seems to us that there can be talks with this gentleman only through Vienna and Bonn, and now through the United States. If we allow that the learned Dr. Tudjman has political wisdom, then he must know the ancient rule that if you have to beg from someone in order to survive yourself, then you should not anger him. It would be nice if someone could convincingly remove our right to these suspicions.

Why should hope in that desert us, when more and more reasons emerge every day? Have we not learnt by now what we should stick to and how we should survive?

Karadzic, Izetbegovic To Receive Churkin

AU3003145493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] As the SRNA correspondent in Belgrade has learned, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin is going to hold talks with Serbian President

Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. Tomorrow he will meet with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, in Pale.

SRNA has also learned that Churkin, at his own request, will also meet with Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the Bosnian Muslims, in Sarajevo tomorrow.

Churkin, Russian Envoy Arrive in Pale

LD3103115293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Pale, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian representative in the negotiating process on Bosnia-Herzegovina, arrived today in Pale in the company of Gennadiy Shikin, Russian ambassador in Yugoslavia.

Immediately upon their arrival, they met with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]; Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the National Assembly; and Dr. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic.

The main topic of today's meeting is the resumption of the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are still no indications if Churkin will travel to Sarajevo for a meeting with Alija Izetbegovic.

Upon his arrival in Belgrade yesterday and after his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Churkin explained that his mission is aimed at considering further steps that can be taken to ensure that Bosnian Serbs sign the Vance-Owen plan as a whole.

UN Ambassador Reacts to Extension of Mandate

LD3103010393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] In connection with the UN Security Council resolution which extends temporarily for three months the mandate of the UN forces in the countries created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Dr. Mario Nobilo, permanent representative of the Republic of Croatia in the United Nations, said in an interview for HINA:

The resolution is very important for Croatia because the Security Council has thus unambiguously confirmed the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders, which is a clear message for greater Serbian militants that the world will not accept a Serb state in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. This is also stressed in the operational part of the resolution which states that the problem of the UN protected areas must be solved within the Republic of Croatia with full respect for human and civil rights. We believe that this clear message contained in the resolution will facilitate negotiations and make it possible for the voice of moderate Serbs in the protected areas to be heard.

Dr. Nobilo goes on to say that it is true that the tasks and the extent of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate have not yet been redefined in accordance with our interests. Nevertheless, I must stress that this three-month extension is temporary, which is clearly stated in the operative part of the resolution. The temporary period can be much shorter than three months. The Security Council has decided to consider the redefinition of the mandate in one month. That will depend both on events in Croatia and the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The lack of precise deadlines for the implementation of the Vance plan, especially for the return of refugees, is certainly the greatest drawback of the new resolution. I believe that next resolution, which will redefine UNPROFOR's mandate in great detail, will set deadlines for the return of refugees and provide protection mechanisms for that process. This resolution has already charged the secretary general with reviewing possibilities of an urgent change of the Vance plan in Croatia.

Concerning the part of the resolution which singles out UN Security Council Resolution 802, Dr. Nobilo says: Resolution 802 must be viewed as a whole. The decree on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army was passed to separate the warring sides, and because of the future demilitarization of the protected areas. I will remind you that Resolution 802 at the same time demands that Serb paramilitary units in the protected areas should be completely disarmed and disbanded, and that Croatian units should withdraw from parts of the battlefield. Croatian civilian authorities will remain in Maslenica, Zemunik, and Peruca. Resolution 802 aims at creating conditions for Croatia to establish full control over the so-called pink zones as soon as possible. That will thoroughly change UNPROFOR's position and facilitate a speedy implementation of the Vance plan. The breakdown of the greater Serbian imperialistic policy cannot be avoided. It is therefore very important to refrain from hasty moves which can put in jeopardy Croatia's rising international reputation.

Crucial Security Council resolutions can be expected in the next few months, especially resolutions referring to border control, the return of refugees and the disarmament of Serb rebel forces. Roads running through the protected areas should start being opened soon, which is the first in the series of moves leading towards the normalization of life and the creation of conditions to establish links again between those areas and the rest of Croatia.

Due to all this, the latest resolution should be seen as an interim step in the preparation for UNPROFOR's more resolute and better action, the permanent representative of the Republic of Croatia in the United Nations, Dr. Mario Nobilo, said inter alia in the interview for HINA.

Mesic Views Obstruction of Relief Supplies by Croats

AU3103111993 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2017 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Studio interview with Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian parliament by Elmar Oberhauser—live; Mesic statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Oberhauser] Good evening.

[Mesic] Good evening.

[Oberhauser] Mr. Mesic is currently in Austria as the guest of Nationalrat President Fischer.

President Mesic, we have just heard from our reporter that the Croats are also obstructing relief supplies for people in need and do not let them pass. How do you live with this reproach as president of this country's parliament?

[Mesic] In the war that is being waged in Bosnia-Herzegovina many illogical events are taking place. The first illogical thing is that the world is not stopping Serbian aggression. At least, it is now known who the aggressor is. It is a fact that there is no understanding between the Croats and the Muslims, between the local rulers. There are rivalries and incidents. These gentlemen are not under one command. Illogical events that should be stopped as quickly as possible take place. This can only be achieved if the Muslims and Croats take over command jointly.

[Oberhauser] Why do you not stop them? Is it impossible for you? Do you not have things under your control?

[Mesic] [sentence in Serbo-Croatian]

[Oberhauser] Apparently, there are difficulties with the translation. I will try it once again.

Mr. President, why do you not put an end to this? Why do you not stop these obstructions? Are you not in power there?

[Mesic] No, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a state of its own. We can only give advice and make demands. But the problem must be solved in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Oberhauser] But, once again, they are Croats, those who obstruct these relief transports are your people.

[Mesic] Yes, they are Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bosnia-Herzegovina is another state.

[Oberhauser] And you do not feel responsible for the actions of your people there?

[Mesic] Of course, it annoys us and we are trying to eliminate all disagreement. We are doing all that we can.

[Oberhauser] You have said before that it was clearly stated that the Serbs are the aggressors. Are you not making things a bit too easy on yourself? The Red Cross and the Helsinki Federation have also accused the Croats of atrocities and hostilities.

[Mesic] One must start from the actual situation. There is no civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is no ethnic war and there is no religious war either. It is a classic case of Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina because Serbia wants to gain Croatian territories and also wants territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Everything else is simply obscured. Everything else is only.... Actually, one must first eliminate the factor that caused this situation.

[Oberhauser] But, President Mesic, has Croatia not profited, too, so to say, as a side-effect, and annexed land in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Mesic] I think that this is pure speculation. Croatia did not take anything away from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, parts of Croatia are still occupied. If Croatia could, it would first free its own territory and not occupy the foreign one.

[Oberhauser] Apparently, it is difficult to state that objectively. Of course, you also have a subjective view of things. I grant you that. Nevertheless, it is a fact that these accusations are made in public.

Let us come to your country itself. There are reproaches concerning Croatia that the country is not as democratized as is envisaged, that President Tudjman is ruling the country in a very authoritarian style, that there is no freedom of the press, and, on the contrary, that there is almost a kind of censorship. What have you to say to these reproaches?

[Mesic] In every state there is more or less democracy. Croatia developed from a communist principle. Croatian journalists are also very burdened by the previous government. These journalists were always bound to the state and the party. The journalists also do not make enough use of their freedom. If you read Croatian newspapers, you can read about it in them. If you ask someone where he has read it, the answer will be: In the newspapers. If the newspapers were controlled, how could all that have appeared in the newspapers?

Serbs Fire on Zadar, Injuring Five

LD3003163193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report from Zadar by Bozidar Klaric]

[Excerpt] In the Zadar-Biograd area the Serb army has continued to attack civilian targets with the obvious intention to kill and destroy. Around 1415 today the Serb terrorists, completely unprovoked because the entire Zadar battleground was quiet at that time, fired three Orkan missiles at Zaton in the western part of the municipality of Zadar. According to reports received so far, five people were injured in the criminal attack. [passage omitted]

Artillery Attacks Reported in Northern Dalmatia

LD3003130993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Knin, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting between the warring sides on the northern Dalmatian battlefield resumed today, the main headquarters of the Serb republic of Krajina army said in Knin today.

Croatian forces from the wider area of Novigrad and the occupied Serb villages in this region shelled defense positions on the Zadar-Benkovac part of the frontline.

Gornji Biljani, Donji Biljani, Smiljcic, and other villages have been targeted by artillery, tank, and mortar fire. Croatian forces are also shelling the villages of Lisani, Tinski, and Kakmi from the direction of Biograd.

Less intense clashes are in progress on the Sibenik-Drnis part of the northern Dalmatian battlefield and Croatian forces are active along the demarcation line on the Lika front.

According to the statement of the main headquarters of the Serb republic of Krajina army, Krajina forces routed a saboteur-terrorist group of the Croatian army in the wider area of Kasic.

RSK Security Service Chief Supports Milosevic

93BA0703D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Mar 93 p 6

[Interview with Nedeljko Boskovic, chief of the RSK Army's Security Administration, by Kresimir Meler; place and date not given: "'We Are Stronger Than You Think'"]

[Text] *The new chief of the Security Administration in the army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] says that they are better prepared than ever before; "My president is Milosevic."*

From our correspondents.

Nedeljko Boskovic is known as the successor to Aleksandar Vasiljevic in the position of head of the Yugoslav military intelligence service. He appeared on the scene last May, when Vasiljevic was ousted and jailed. He had resigned his position a month before to his deputy at that time, Radenko Radinovic. We can also state that the 50-year-old Radinovic is a close collaborator of Slobodan Milosevic and the best friend of General Bozidar Stevanovic. Boskovic retired some time ago, but now those two have put him precisely at the top of the pyramid of the intelligence service.

[Meler] Until recently, you were the head of the Security Administration. Then you disappeared, and now you have appeared in Krajina again. What happened?

[Boskovic] I was not dismissed, but only transferred in accordance with the needs of the service, since my presence here was more necessary. President Milosevic also agreed with this. He actually requested that I come here.

[Meler] But surely it was President Cosic?

[Boskovic] No, no. My president is Milosevic, and not some Cosic. Cosic is only an average writer and it would be better for him if he stuck to writing. Essentially, both he and Milan Panic only hurt us. Cosic did have a few good ideas, but one cannot live on ideas. We need an intelligent politician and a good strategist, and Slobodan Milosevic is like that, and at most also Vojislav Seselj, a great fighter for the Serbian cause. The others do not have anything to look for in the army or in politics. That particularly applies to American-German agents like Vuk Draskovic, Milan Panic, and former generals Vasiljevic, Raseta, Jurjevic, and Veljko Kadijevic. It is their fault that Serbia did not achieve through the war what it intended.

[Meler] I thought that you were the head of security for the Yugoslav army.

[Boskovic] Listen, Serbia is the driving force, the spiritus movens. It is surely already clear from history that Serbia was and remains a state-creating power, and that it was due to it that Yugoslavia arose.

[Meler] Isn't it a bit severe to cast the blame for Serbia's partial failure on the battlefield on several politicians and officers?

[Boskovic] My dear sir, that is far from exaggerated! We have in our hands quite clear information confirming that there was a network of people in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] who did not fulfill their obligations and who concealed high treason. We can start with Veljko Kadijevic and continue with Zvonko Jurijevic, Andrija Raseta, and Marijan Cado.

[Meler] They are treated in Slovenia and Croatia as war criminals....

[Boskovic] I certainly assume that you know, but I will tell you anyway: It was only through the fault of Kadijevic, Raseta, Anton Tus, and later Jurijevic that we had to abandon Slovenia, and it was only through their fault that we did not bring the authorities in Zagreb to their knees. We have proof that Andrija Raseta, and after him Vasiljevic as well, sent information and photographs to a certain Croatian reporter. They reached the Croatian intelligence service, which even started an international network. We did not know that, and that is why we sent eight squadrons on 27 October to bomb Zagreb. When the aircraft had already come quite close to Zagreb, however, they abruptly turned and came back. At that time we did not know why, but Vasiljevic told us later that it was his decision and that Kadijevic also agreed with it. Supposedly we were threatened by international sanctions and military intervention. That is ridiculous. There was no intervention, and we would already have won the war a long time ago.

[Meler] But surely the only thing to blame was that you did not fulfill your ambitions?

[Boskovic] We know that Vasiljevic was extremely well-disposed toward Kadijevic, Raseta, and several other generals. I warned that they were deliberately neglecting the danger of infiltration by hostile intelligence agents into our ranks. We thus had, precisely in the leadership of the Security Administration of the Fifth Military Region, a certain Agotic, a certain Vrhovski, and then Dusan Ilic, Petar Salapuro, and Col. Jezercic. The last two, as well as Andrija Raseta, are directly responsible for the fall of the Varazdin corps. Vasiljevic even wanted to try wonderful people like Vlado Trifunovic and Berislav Popov, but the truth was stronger and now they are both fighting in the front combat ranks against the Ustasa forces.

[Meler] And what does Raseta have on his conscience?

[Boskovic] Together with Randjelo Stamenkovic, he issued commands to the military barracks in Zagreb and in northwest Croatia on his own authority to avoid bloodshed, because allegedly the army would have to leave Croatia in any case. It was also his fault that the Labrador group also fell, because he advised them to wait a little while to destroy documents. When Bosko Kelecevic told him that more attention would have to be devoted to several personnel solutions, in regard to which he particularly mentioned Ivan Basarac and Major Misic, Raseta answered him, "If you have anyone better, give him." Unfortunately, now both Raseta and most of the others are beyond the reach of our judicial system.

[Meler] Why did you actually come to Krajina?

[Boskovic] I came only in order to find out with my own eyes what kind of difficulties they had here, and how to shift from a counteroffensive to an offensive. You must know that in a week or so fanatical battles will start here, on which the survival of the Serbian people in this area will depend. Since Milan Martic and the Defense Ministry did poor work, we had to start everything from the beginning, reorganize the defense, and conduct a thorough purge. To start with, we dismissed the sector commanders. We entrusted the entire operation to Zeljko Raznjatovic, Captain Dragan, and Veselin Sljivancanin, and a whole series of other wonderful people who have done a great deal for the Serbian cause.

[Meler] But those people are still war criminals?

[Boskovic] Why should they be? Our methods are no different than the methods of the Americans in Vietnam, the allies in Germany.... Retaliation against the population, forced emigration, internment, and even rapes—that is quite normal, and it is not written anywhere that those are war crimes. Why is no one arresting Reagan, Bush, or Clinton? According to the standards that they are imposing on us, they are even worse war criminals. Bush attacked the innocent Iraqi people just because they wanted their historical territory back.

[Meler] Do you expect that the battles will be resumed?

[Boskovic] The blue helmets' departure would suit us. Several times now we have caught Dutch, French, and Canadian soldiers spying for Croatia. They are actually working against the Serbian people, and we can no longer tolerate that. The moment that the peacekeeping forces leave, Croatia will attack the Serbian people—we are convinced of that. We are prepared for it. I would not like to say what we have available, but Mr. Tudjman has to be aware that there will no longer be any surprises like Maslenica. We have closed our ranks and made some necessary changes, and we will make more of them, so we are better prepared than ever before.

Situation on Krajina-Dalmatian Battlefield

93BA0739D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by M. Cetnik: "A Cannonade of Long-Range Artillery"]

[Text] Knin, 4 Mar—The fiercest exchange of fire in the Krajina-Dalmatian theater is coming from long-range cannons and rocket launchers. Targets in the rear of the combat line are mainly under attack. The General Staff of the Serbian Army of the RSK [Serbian Republic Krajina] reports that yesterday and last night Croatian artillery hit civilian targets in the depths of Serbian territory with strong fire. It shelled the vicinity of Obrovac, greater Novigrad, and Gornji Zemunik was hit with every available weapon from the direction of Skabrnje and Prkos.

The General Staff says that the Croatian side has been warned by the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to cease its brutal two-day artillery attacks on the Serbian civilian population and Orthodox religious structures. Because the Croatian Command turned a deaf ear to that warning, the Serbian artillery returned the fire. According to a press release by the Knin Military Command, the Croatian artillery was neutralized with strong and accurate fire, involving large losses of personnel and combat equipment on the Croatian side.

Croatian radio has reported that Serbian multibarrel rocket launchers of the "Oganj" and "Orkan" type have been hitting the area of Sibenik, Vodice, Lozovac, and Bilice from Bratiskovci in the hinterland of Skradin. Because of the surprise attack, the radio said, a general alert was sounded in Sibenik, and the all clear was sounded only at noon today. It is the assessment of Croatian radio that the people of Sibenik have "perhaps experienced the most difficult day of the war since July 1991." According to that source, several heavy projectiles also fell yesterday on Bibinje near Zadar. It said that there were dead and wounded in Sibenik and Bibinje.

The General Staff in Knin announced yesterday that Croatian shells also fell in the vicinity of the Krka Monastery and that windows broke in the monastery building. The abbot of the Krka Monastery played down this news in a statement for Knin Television. According to him, the shells did actually fall near the monastery, but there was no property damage, and the abbot warned that there is no reason for the students attending the seminary in Krka not to come to class in the second semester.

Military intelligence sources in Knin have reported that two days ago there was an armed showdown in the Zadar hinterland between two Croatian units. The conflict was between soldiers of the 3d Regiment of the 4th Brigade of the Croatian Army and the Croatian Police Regiment, led by its commander, a certain Badza from Slavonski Brod. Because of the large losses in the battle with the Serbian Army in Ravni Kotari, fighters from the 3d Regiment wanted to leave the battlefield. However, the rebellion was smothered after the skirmish. Commander Badza and another 14 military police were killed in the showdown, and there were also dead and wounded among the members of the 3d Regiment.

The Iskra Agency says that mobilization of Muslims has continued on the territory of Cazin Krajina, especially in the area of the settlement Buzim. New Muslim units are being formed, and the objective of these intensified mobilization measures is an attack on the territory of the Serbian Republic Krajina.

Jansa Allegedly Supplies Arms to Croatia, Bosnia

AU3003172193 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Jansa Arms Alija and Tudjman"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle has sent a letter to the UN Security Council demanding authorization for Slovenia to trade in arms and military equipment. In other words, Slovenia is asking the international community, with which it hypocritically intercedes for the demilitarization of and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, to legalize its arms-dealing, in which Slovenia, after Czechoslovakia and Sweden, is one of the main European centers!

Arms shipments, arriving in Ljubljana and Maribor in a peculiar way, end up in Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina. People who are more familiar with this profitable business claim that last year alone Slovenia delivered arms to these two former Yugoslav republic to the value of— $1 billion.

The recently arrested Adolf Storman, leader of the Republican Alliance of Slovenia, stated that he and his partners were "small fry," while the main dealer and organizer of the trade was Defense Minister Janez Jansa. Storman claims that Jansa had traded in arms before Slovenia became independent, when it became independent, and still does now, with the arms embargo in effect.

Drnovsek Discusses Cooperation with NATO, Arms Embargo

AU3003165793 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek is paying an extremely important visit to Brussels today. He and Defense Minister Janez Jansa visited NATO Headquarters this morning, where they were first received by Secretary General Woerner. Afterward, they met with all the permanent representatives of the 16 member states of the pact.

Dr. Drnovsek will meet Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, at the EC headquarters this afternoon. Mirjam Acimov Oblak reports from Brussels:

[Begin Oblak recording] This morning's visit of Prime Minister Drnovsek and Defense Minister Jansa to NATO Headquarters is important primarily for two reasons. First, this is the first official visit of the highest Slovene representatives to NATO and the first official meeting of our prime minister with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner. Second, the significance of today's event lies in the topics discussed.

The most important among them was definitely the establishment of Slovenia's future status in the context of Slovenia drawing closer to NATO. They also discussed Slovene views of the further development of events on the territory of former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also the possibility that Slovenia be exempt from the international arms embargo.

As regards our future status, today's talks concentrated on the possibilities of institutionalizing future formal contacts in this or another way. Bearing in mind that Slovenia is interested in regular contacts with NATO and a regular exchange of information, it transpired in Brussels today that our interests are slightly different from those of the former members of the Warsaw Pact. Namely, they are to cooperate with NATO within the newly formed Council for Cooperation, which, besides the 16 regular NATO members, at the moment also comprises 21 new, that is to say, former east European states. Slovenia, was, of course, never a member of the Warsaw Pact and, therefore, does not find being on the NATO Council for Cooperation together with former Warsaw Pact members very suitable. Although the form of future institutionalization of links and cooperation with NATO is still being studied, one must immediately say that an observer status resembling that of Finland would probably be the most suitable for Slovenia. [Passage omitted] Naturally, NATO itself, which will come up with the proposals after today's visit, must decide about future forms of cooperation with Slovenia.

Today's talks that Drnovsek and Jansa had with the permanent members of the pact show that the disposition toward Slovenia is favorable and that we can count upon a newly institutionalized form of cooperation, most likely in the status of an observer. This is so especially because NATO itself does not have any interest or desire to widen further the present Council for Cooperation with the states of East Europe, as it would then partially identify with the CSCE.

As regards the removal of the international arms embargo on Slovenia, NATO stressed that the United Nations must make a decision about this. In the context of the events in former Yugoslavia, today's debate primarily concentrated on the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina and additional measures, that is to say, harsher sanctions against Belgrade, that might help contribute toward its implementation. [end recording]

Croatian Military Delegation Agrees to Further Ties

AU3003165393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The delegation of the Croatian Defense Ministry continues its two-day visit to Slovenia. Generals Bobetko and Cermak are today visiting several commands and units of the Territorial Defense. Yesterday, the delegations of the Slovene and Croatian defense ministries held official talks at Strmol Castle. They expressed satisfaction with the talks they had had thus far and agreed on further closer cooperation in the field of logistics, training, and exchange of information.

Delegation Head Comments on Admission to CE

AU2903162193 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] The spring part of the session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which lasted for several days, ends in La Valletta, Malta, today. As we already know, the Italian delegation at the session put forward a special resolution, questioning Slovenia's admission to the Council in May as a full member. Borut Pahor, head of the Slovene delegation, also attended the Parliamentary Assembly. He spoke of the difficulties surrounding the Italian resolution at the news conference. Edo Zitnik reports:

[Begin recording] [Zitnik] The Italian resolution on the observation of rights of the Italian minority in Slovenia and Croatia, with which they call upon the Parliamentary Assembly to reconsider Slovenia's application, does not mean that Slovenia will not be made a full member of the Council of Europe in May. However, especially if the resolution is endorsed by individual committees of the parliament, our admission will be questionable as the skepticism of the Italian delegation had obviously already born first fruit:

[Pahor] My opinion is that although the Italian resolution refers exclusively to the issue of legal protection for the Italian minority in Slovenia, it probably masks additional pressures of the [word indistinct] circles of the interstate talks. Therefore, the legal aspect of the Italian minority is not the only issue bugging the Italians, but there may also be the issue of real estate, that is to say, the law on real estate.

[Zitnik] What can Slovenia do in the current situation when the Council of Europe is also definitely under strong influence of the Slovene-Italian freeze of relations. According to Borut Pahor, there are very few formal ways:

[Pahor] There is informal (?lobbying) left to us, but time is not working for us here. We will have to reconsider every word that we say at the sessions of the committees. There is not much time, usually 5 minutes, and less is known about Slovenia than we imagine. That is why it is even more important what arguments we will use in the debate. Thus, besides the informal lobbying, our appearance on these three committees and the weighing up of the pros and cons will be crucial. [end recording]

Military Officers School Established

93BA0703F Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 3 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Tomaz Bukovec: "First Officers"]

[Text] The Defense Ministry's officers' school has started to function in Poljce; the experiences of training the first generation will be used in further work with cadets.

Ljubljana, 3 Mar—With Slovenia's independence and the formation of the Slovene army, a need for training officers was also indicated. Recently, the training of the first generation of noncommissioned officers was completed. On 1 February 1993, the Defense Ministry's Officers' School also started to function; for the time being it is at the training center in Poljce, and is headed by Captain M.A. Mitja Miklave. The very next generation is to be trained in Ljubljana. In 11 months, Slovenia will thus get its first officers trained at home.

In the first school generation there are 14 future officers; two left the training during the first month, one at his own wish and the other by the decision of the school's leadership, because of his failure to adjust to the training requirements. The training for Slovene officers lasts for two parts of six months each. The first part is theoretical, but the future officers will spend the next six months in a training unit. After successful completion of the final examinations, the graduates will receive the rank of second lieutenant, and will be trained as platoon commanders.

The working conditions in Poljce are more than excellent, and because of the type of the facility and the center, the cadets enjoy a very nonmilitary comfort: In fact, their beds are made by a maid. During their training, the future officers receive a platoon commander's pay without bonuses, which amounts to about 45,000 tolars.

We talked about the training and the conditions with Darko Njavro from Kocevje (secondary electrical school), Zoran Dernovsek from Ljubljana (secondary electrical school), Ernest Anzelj from Maribor (graduate of a construction school in Maribor), Andrej Cafut from Celje (graduate forestry engineer), and Iztok Gregorcic from Ljubljana (graduate electrotechnical engineer). The first four were already employed previously in TO [Territorial Defense], and Gregorcic has come to TO for the first time.

The work day starts with getting up at 6:00; in the morning, they have six hours of lessons, and in the afternoon they attend a program of sports activities and various seminars. The training program includes international warfare and military law, military instruction, psychology, leadership and command, the defense and security system, war and the military history of Slovenes, the ethics of the officer's profession, topography, general tactics, military terminology, weapons and armaments, sports training, etc. The young men emphasize that the lectures are at an extremely high level, since they are given by well-known professors from the university and military experts from the Ministry.

The first generation of future officers is an experimental one, and we will modify the training on the basis of these experiences. According to Major Janez Svajncer, director of the Defense Ministry's Third Administration and a lecturer, it is already possible to decide on several changes: "It will be necessary to attract younger men (now the average age is over 25), and reduce the required education for this school (now a college education), since a platoon commander does not need to have that much

theoretical knowledge; it is primarily practical knowledge that is needed. Further training would be necessary later on for higher ranks."

A very responsible task awaits the first 14 Slovene officers in the units. With their knowledge, they have to prove that the Slovene officers' school is successful and that with their knowledge they can measure themselves against all the others who were trained elsewhere. Admittedly, the school only lasts for 12 months, but the people who come to it already have previous education and the school is only intended as a supplement for special knowledge.

[Box, p 4]

Most of the future officers have already worked in positions as platoon commanders. A condition for admission to the school is a college education, but because of military services some people were admitted with a secondary education. The reason for continuing education was explained by Ernest Anzelj: "I have already trained five generations of soldiers, but I am aware that the belief that you already know everything is the worst. The school will intensify our knowledge, and the purpose of our studying is not just to acquire 'epaulets' (an officer's rank)."

Ban on Import of Animals, Meat From Croatia

93BA0703G Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 2 Mar 93 p 24

[Unattributed article: "Imports of Cattle and Pigs From Croatia Banned"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar—As of yesterday, there has been a ban on the import and transit of cattle, beef, raw materials and products from beef, pigs and pork, and raw materials and products from pork, which originate in the Republic of Croatia. Likewise banned are the transit and import of all the above-mentioned animals and products from third countries that go through Croatia. As the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry announced, all the permits already issued are canceled until further notice. Specifically, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry received a fax from the border veterinary service in Prosek that it suspected that cattle that had arrived from Croatia were infected with foot-and-mouth disease. That is why imports of live cattle, beef, and beef products to Italy were banned.

Yesterday the Ministry ordered stricter inspection of the transportation of cattle and pigs, and meat, raw materials, and products from these animals. All cattle and all pigs that are brought for fairs and exhibitions have to be numbered at the owner's expense either with a brand or a tattooed mark in the ear.

Slovene-Austrian Military Agreement Signed

93P20114A Ljubljana STA in English 29 Mar 93 p 1

[Text] Slovenian Defence Minister Janez Jansa and his Austrian counterpart Werner Fasslabend signed on 25 March at Strmol castle in Gorenjska an agreement on cooperation between the ministries in the area of security and defence. According to the ministers the agreement does not envisage actual cooperation between the armed forces of the two countries. Janez and Fasslabend stressed at a press conference their unity regarding the system of collective security in Europe. Slovenia signed a similar agreement with Hungary last June. The Defence Ministry has, in Jansa's words, established contacts with counterparts in Croatia and Italy.

Federal

Cosic Views Bosnian Conflict With Belgium's Claes

LD3103011793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Brussels, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—It is necessary for all warring sides to show good will and to invest efforts to reach a sensible compromise, if the war in Bosnia is to end. This is the joint conclusion reached by Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and Willy Claes, Belgian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, voiced in the course of their meeting in Brussels today.

With the meeting with Willy Claes, Dobrica Cosic started a series of talks which he will have with Belgian politicians in the course of his two-day visit to Belgium. Cosic's talks with Claes lasted 90-minutes and Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic took part in the talks. The meeting today was also attended by Svetozar Stojanovic, advisor to President Cosic, Ivan Mrkic, head of the president's office, and Dragan Momcilovic, charge d'affairs of the FRY Embassy in Brussels.

It has been learned from the circles of the Yugoslav delegation that the Belgian vice prime minister told President Cosic that the Vance-Owen peace plan is the only alternative to the continuation of the war. Stressing that the plan is not perfect and pointing at its shortcomings, Claes said that it can be improved later, but stressed that the Serb side ought to sign it now; it will then represent a basis for the final solution of the conflict.

Claes said that otherwise the most severe sanctions would follow, stressing that Belgium is against new severe measures because it does not believe that in the long run they will achieve a desired objective. Claes mentioned a confederation as one of the possible interpretations of the plan and stressed that sooner or later the three warring sides will have to reestablish various forms of cooperation.

The Belgian Government never said that it is only the Serbs in Bosnia who are responsible for the war and at the same time condemned the other two warring sides, but particular criticism of the Serb side was directed at its military forces, and also at activities that it engaged in in the field recently, Claes said. At the same time Claes expressed the conviction that Yugoslavia has great influence and moral authority enabling it to affect the behavior of the Bosnian Serbs. He also used this occasion to reiterate the Belgian Government's stand that Kosovo is an integral part of Yugoslavia and Serbia, at the same time pointing at the need that human rights ought to be fully respected in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav president told his host that he overestimated the influence Belgrade can have on the Serbs in Bosnia. Belgrade cannot, Cosic said, issue orders to them. This is not a nation which bends to orders, not even those issued by their own leaders, but is a nation that can be talked to and approached by arguments and realistic solutions. Threats only cause stronger resistance in them, Cosic said.

Dobrica Cosic did not agree that the Vance plan is the only alternative to peace. [sentence as received] History has shown, he said, that there are always other solutions and in connection with Bosnia one of them is the project offered by Portugese Ambassador Cutileiro last year. According to the Yugoslav president, a good basis is also Radovan Karadzic's proposal to divide 80 percent of the undisputed territory according to the peace plan, while the remaining 20 percent should be put under UN protection until a final solution is reached.

In his capacity as supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army, Dobrica Cosic resolutely denied reports cited by Willy Claes that Yugoslav air force aircraft engage in actions over Bosnia, noting among other things that international observers who can easily identify such flights are positioned at all Yugoslav airports. According to Cosic, the most important thing at the moment is to establish a complete cease-fire in Bosnia, which is something the Yugoslav Government is hard at work on, as well as to continue peace talks in Geneva as soon as possible.

According to impressions of some members of the Yugoslav delegation, the meeting between Cosic and Claes was extensive and interesting, and passed in the atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. It is said that the introduction to the talks made some contribution towards this: the host greeted his guest as a great writer and intellectual, and they agreed to meet again to discuss more art and less politics. In addition to being one of the most important and influential political personalities in Belgium, Willy Claes is a famous conductor. He visited Israel recently and performed with a symphony orchestra in Tel Aviv.

'Threat of Actual Hunger' Looms After Months of Sanctions

LD3103100793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0856 GMT 31 Mar 93

["Pool" item—By Milica Knezevic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 31 (TANJUG)—After ten months of international economic sanctions, the impoverished Yugoslavs are faced with the threat of actual hunger.

The worst hit has been the urban population, whose standard of living has crumbled down to an unprecedented low in the past few decades, wiping out the middle classes, traditionally the most numerous.

In the capital Belgrade, social welfare is being drawn by barely 1.3 percent of the needy, Ljiljana Mijanovic of the Belgrade Welfare Centre said on Wednesday [31 March].

Belgrade, with a population of 1.6 million, pays welfare to some 25,000.

"Time was when the dole was drawn by the unemployed, the homeless, but now those eligible for the dole are to be found also among the employed," said Mijanovic.

Figures of the Yugoslav Statistical Office show that a family of four needs two and a half average monthly wages to live. The biggest drain on the pocket are the basic foodstuffs, which are becoming scarce in the cities.

Fifteen percent of the children in Yugoslavia are undernourished, says Miladin Mirilov of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

Economising is pointless when prices go up two or three times a week. With an inflation which hit 227 percent in March, the prices will have risen one million percent by the end of the year.

Commodities other than food can hardly find buyers, and yet their production should sustain the 2.3 million employed in the social sector. In addition, one-third of the employed have been laid off with token pay since the imposition of the sanctions. The problem is grave particularly for the 750,000 unemployed, 1.1 million old-age and disability pensioners, as well as 600,000 refugees from the breakaway Yugoslav Republics.

The average Yugoslav earned 560 Deutsche marks [DM] a month in late 1990. In January of 1992, the average wage had dwindled to DM 150, only to slide down to DM 30 in January of this year.

Some of the publications have introduced regular columns on the art of survival. The survival problem is certain to become more poignant as time goes on, with this year's spring sowing hampered by a severe shortage of fertilizers, fuel, pesticides and spare parts for agricultural machines.

A sharp drop in production and an export ban have deprived Yugoslavia (which comprises Serbia and Montenegro after the secession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia) of hard currency for food imports, making it totally dependent on domestic production.

Serb, Croat Forces Reportedly Preparing for War

93BA0703E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "Both Sides Already Have Plans"]

[Text] *Assessment of the readiness of the Croatian and Serbian forces; both sides have the planned operations precisely worked out; watch out for the Albanians and Macedonians.*

From our colleagues.

If Butrus-Ghali and the Croatian leadership succeed in carrying out what they intended, i.e., having the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] leave Croatia, a war may break out on the territory of the Balkans in comparison with which the present conflicts in Bosnia will seem an ordinary scuffle. We learned that fact, regarding which the Croatian authorities will certainly state that it is extremely exaggerated and that someone wants to use it to demoralize the Croatian population, as well as a number of other facts indicating that the Serbian and Croatian generals want the UNPROFOR forces to leave this area as soon as possible, from well-informed sources who have close ties with the military leaderships.

It is no secret at all that both Croatia and Serbia (and the JOS-VJ [Yugoslav Armed Forces-Army of Yugoslavia]), back in November 1992, started to prepare plans for the period after the blue helmets' departure, and that those plans are far from peaceful. According to those plans, the Croatian Army's campaign in the Zadar area was merely laying the groundwork for a continuation of military operations, and—as the Croatian side thinks—the liberation of Knin, Glina, and finally, also the occupied area of eastern and western Slavonia and Baranja. Operations are to continue for the liberation of the occupied part of Croatia, and at the same time, Serbian positions are to be attacked from the direction of Sibenik, Unesic, Sinj, and Kamensko in the south, Duga Resa, Prokupski, Kutina, and Novska in the north, and Valpovo and other areas in the eastern region that is now controlled by UNPROFOR units. The Croatian strategists, who were obviously too optimistic, calculated that they would need six months for the liberation, i.e., the expulsion of Serbian forces from Croatia, and that they had more than enough weapons to carry out that operation successfully. At the same time, they were to start to drive a wedge that would split the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina into two parts and prevent communications between the northern and southern areas, which are now under UNPROFOR's control.

They are also to establish sabotage units in the Croatian Army in Croatia and the Croatian Defense Council in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the chief task of which will be to blockade slopes and mine bridges and other traffic routes by which the enemy side could receive reinforcements in weapons and soldiers. In addition, Croatian Defense Council units would attack Yugoslav Army convoys and do everything possible to keep the military units of the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian Republic from reaching Croatia's territory.

Of course, the 105,000 soldiers that are now in the Croatian Army's permanent force would not be enough for all these operations, and consequently the activation of about 100,000 reservists has been planned. These units would have available 200 tanks, 200 armored transports, 150 howitzers, 10 MiG-21 aircraft, and three MiG-8 and Gazelle helicopters. A specific quantity of heavy weapons and some air defense units are to be stationed in the vicinity of Zagreb and the northwest part of Croatia, in order to defend against possible aircraft attacks against Zagreb.

Special Plan of the Yugoslav Army

A special plan of action has also been prepared by the Yugoslav Army in the event that the blue helmets leave the present areas, and moreover considerably more carefully. It is thus already known that the Podgorica, Uzice, Novi Sad, Djakovica, and Nis corps, the Yugoslav Army's First Army under the command of Lt. General Andrije Viorcevic, and the Third Army under the command of Major Gen. Mico Delic are in a state of full readiness. The First and Third Air Force and Air Defense Corps and all the military airfields in the FRY (Podgorica, Batajnica, Uzice, Pristina, Kraljevo, and Subotica) have also been in a state of readiness ever since 22 January. If the Croatian Army attacked any of the "Serbian republics," it is planned that the Yugoslav Army, from Baranja and eastern Slavonia, will attack all the cities within the range of the long-range cannon, multiple rocket launchers, the Orkan missile systems and the Luna (FROG-7) missiles, and several tens of recently acquired missiles with a range of up to 800 km. At the same time, at all the demarcation lines artillery and missile attacks are to start against cities and settlements under Croatian control. That decree has already been issued, and it was signed by Zivota Panic and the chief of the Yugoslav Army's Security Administration, Maj. Gen. Radenko Radinovic. The decree says, among other things, that it is necessary, "in the event of an attack by enemy forces, to activate all reserve and regular personnel immediately and offer effective assistance to the forces in the Serbian republics. Together with a general offensive in the area of Slavonia, Kordun, and Banija, as well as southern Croatia, it is also necessary to start an offensive in the areas that the Croatian forces control in Bosnia-Herzegovina and attack the Muslim forces in Bosnia and the Muslim forces that could take advantage of the opportunity and attack the Serbian population and the FRY Armed Forces from the territory of Montenegro and Sandzak. It is necessary to institute full combat readiness at the garrisons in Raska, Kosovska Mitrovica, Sjenica, and Ivangrad, and to operate in all areas from which there could be an attack by Muslim forces. It is likewise necessary to activate immediately the units in Vucitrn, Pristina, Prizren, Urosevac, Vranj, and Bujanovac. The task of these units is to use all available means to prevent the activity of Albanian separatists and their attempts to join Albania." Actually, the Yugoslav Air Force, whose commander is Bozo Stevanovic, has already ordered "the activation of all available forces and action on enemy territory, and attacks against military targets, vitally important industrial and energy facilities, and also targets in Zagreb, Slavonski Brod, and other cities, obviously depending on what the situation is like when the conflict breaks out." According to the Serbian plans, with their own losses of about 10,000 soldiers and Croatian losses that should amount to about 150,000 soldiers and civilians, in at most 60 days they should, if not overthrow, at least seriously shake the authorities in Zagreb.

"How to Cut Through Croatian Territory"

At the same time, the Serbian generals have decided that with armored divisions, they will cut through the Croatian territory where it is most sensitive—where it only divides the RSK from Slovenia by about 15 km—in the area of Karlovac and Duga Resa, and from there, they are to penetrate to the Adriatic, specifically near Biograd on the sea and Sibenik. Although the Croatian authorities claim otherwise, the Yugoslav Armed Forces and the armies of the Serbian republics would accomplish this without major difficulties; after the air attacks, the issue of how to bring Croatia to its knees would only be a matter of technical implementation.

Analyses by Belgrade military circles (which should be believed, in spite of Croatian doubts) showed that the Macedonians and Albanians would definitely try to take advantage of the resulting confusion and settle accounts with the Serbs in Kosovo and Macedonia. For this reason, part of the First Army under the command of Col. Gen. Nikola Mandaric has been at a state of full readiness ever since the "Maslenica operation," and the Serbian forces in Banija have been reinforced by Col. Slobodan Tarbuk and Maj. Gen. Tomislav Sipcic. At the same time, Col. Veselin Sljivancanin, the commander of the first guard brigade, an elite unit that devastated Vukovar, has come to the area of Glina.

These plans are far from unrealistic, although the Croatian media constantly talk with open derision about the "Serbian soldiers who are facing complete collapse." That "army in collapse" has more than a million soldiers, whereas the Croatian Army only has 200,000 members. In addition to this, the Yugoslav Army has 1,420 T-55, T-72, and M-84 tanks, and the Croatian Army only has about 200 tanks. To the above-mentioned 1,420 tanks, one should also add 50 M-89 tanks that were recently introduced into the Yugoslav Army by the FRY. Furthermore, Serbia has 1,232 armored transports, 2,079 heavy cannons, about 700 combat aircraft, and 152 helicopters. Croatia has 200 armored transports, 150 heavy cannons, and 10 aircraft, and Macedonia has only about 100,000 soldiers, who are armed with light infantry weapons.

As Belgrade military sources claim, with that balance of forces there would soon be a conflict between the Macedonians on one side, and the Muslims and Albanians on the other. In that event, neighboring Albania would also get involved in all of this, as well as Greece, which would certainly carry out an operation to protect its own borders, even though an attack against those borders would be staged. This, of course, would start a war whose end is hard to predict. The increasingly stronger pro-Serbian faction in the Russian parliament, in that case, would certainly vote for the (now legal) sending of all sorts of assistance to the "threatened Orthodox brethren."

The "Invincible" Croatian Experts

The Croatian experts, to be sure, are really invincible, as far as giving such assessments is concerned. If in this regard we even ignore the fact that just an hour after Tudjman stated that an "attack against the Ban Courts in Zagreb would be one more Serbian gem," that building was very successfully subjected to a missile attack, we were naturally surprised that the Croatian Army's general staff is convinced that it could bombard Knin, while at the same time successfully defending Zagreb against attacks by enemy aircraft and surface-to-surface systems. In the vicinity of Glina, Petrinja, Okucani, and other "hot spots," missiles are deployed with a range of 80 and 800 km, along with the Orkan multiple rocket launcher system. From the Banja Luka airport, aircraft can fly to Zagreb in seven or eight minutes. Croatia currently has only a few surface-to-air SAM-9 and SAM-13 missile systems, the SAM-7 (Strela 2M) light missile system, and antiair cannons with calibers from 14.5 to 57 mm. These are light portable antiair systems, of which the SAM-9 (GASKIN) has two dual launchers that are mounted on a vehicle, with missiles whose range (vertical) is 5 km. The SAM-13 (GOPHER) has two dual launchers with an vertical range of 8 km. Against the 10 Croatian MiG aircraft, the rebel Serbs and their "big brother" have PRV-11 Russian mobile radars with a range of 350 km and the P-12NP with a range of 300 km. The data from these radars are collected at radar stations which are intended for electronic surveillance, and at the same time act as radars themselves. These are devices of the P-14 type, with a range of up to 600 km. As a shield, they would use the SAM-6 (GAINFUL) PA [antiaircraft] missiles, the launcher for which has three missiles, 6.2 meters long and with a diameter of 355 mm. These missiles reach a vertical height of 18 km. Around Glina, Petrinja, Knin, and Baranja, it is possible to see SAM-2 (GUEDELINE) missiles from the DVINA-75 mm system with a vertical range of 27 km and a speed of 3.5 Mach. The Serbian side furthermore has hand-held antiair missiles of the Igla E type (SAM-14 and SAM-16), and the total combat strength is "only" 30 times greater than the strength of the Croatian antiair systems.

Actually, in terms of both modern equipment and numbers, the Serbian forces are still much stronger than (even) the combined forces of the former Yugoslav republics outside the FRY. It is precisely for that reason that the withdrawal of the UNPROFOR forces would be terribly dangerous, and most of all for Croatia, whose leadership is trying to alleviate the increasingly worse social and political tension by causing another war. In general, it would also be dangerous for everyone east of the Kolpa at that time. There was a chaplain who inspired his people for war with the words: "We are turning to the great army of those who are so poor that even their lives could not mean the greatest wealth in the world." There is an infinitely large number of such people in Croatia, and the HDZ leadership is persuading people that "the Serbs and UNPROFOR are to blame for this," and more and more often one can also hear the lie that in the event that "there were no UNPROFOR, Knin would have been Croatian again a long time ago." Some wise man said that he who forgets history is condemned to repeat it.

Roundup of Firms' Activities—1 Mar

93BA0719A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 93 pp 39-41

[Unattributed article: "News From Business Firms"]

[Text] **ICN-GALENIKA—BELGRADE: JOINT RESEARCH**

Last week, ICN-Galenika and the Military Medical Academy [VMA] signed a general contract on cooperation and joint research work. Annexes to the contract will deal with each project separately. The VMA has thereby assumed the obligation to organize preclinical and clinical tests of new substances and molecules on which they will be working in ICN-Galenika.

Incidentally, up to now our domestic pharmaceutical industry has mainly been manufacturing and is manufacturing preparations under license and so-called generic drugs, that is, those on which patent protection has expired. All of those drugs are actually manufactured on the basis of substances and compounds already known, so that up to now preclinical tests have not been organized at all in our country, nor was there any need for it. Nor for the present has there been any effort to develop altogether new substances of our own. The first project which ICN-Galenika and the VMA will organize jointly is the study of antisporic substances and the testing of their pharmacological activities. And then they will undertake to study antiviral compounds and antineoplastics.

The study and development of any drug is a big job, expensive and uncertain, but developing a drug of its own which signifies improvement of therapy even on a world scale is the greatest challenge for a pharmaceutical company. A firm like Sandoz, for example, eighth largest in the world, today earns 80 percent of its profit from the sale and production of just one drug (its own)—cyclosporin. Incidentally, pharmaceutical companies of the Western countries today invest between 15 and 20 percent of their revenues in research and development of their own pharmacological substances. At ICN-Galenika, they have just begun the preparations to prepare four project studies of new factories and institutes.

EVROPA-INTERNACIONAL—BELGRADE: A NEW INSURANCE OFFERING

Evropa-Internacional, a joint stock insurance company that operates in the Braca Karic system, and the public firm Infostan last week signed a letter of intent aimed at offering apartment owners and holders of the right of tenancy in Belgrade combined insurance of dwellings and household effects covered by a single payment.

According to Branko Krstonosic, general director of Evropa-Internacional, Belgraders are being offered for the first time an opportunity to insure their dwellings and household effects on particularly favorable terms, as can be seen from the fact that the dwellings will now be insured as structural entities for the price previously collected to insure household effects. That is, at a time when individuals are more and more frequently assuming ownership of their dwellings, former owners of those dwellings are relinquishing the obligation, should there be damage to the structure, to return the dwelling to the condition before the damage (fire, water, breakage, flood, hail, etc.). All the repair costs are now borne by the new owners, and they may run into tens of millions of dinars. At the same time, Belgraders are at least not unaware of the fact that in more than 60,000 cases during last year alone burglars took from individuals property which is increasingly difficult to acquire.

Precisely for that reason the insurance offered by Evropa-Internacional in agreement with Infostan will offer Belgraders homeowner's insurance at a premium paid in 12 equal installments by postal money order. The insurer offers insureds who in the previous year had no loss a discount on the insurance premium in the next year. The public response will be shown by the results of a survey to be taken as early as 20 February by Infostan in Belgrade, covering about 420,000 people.

KOMGRAP—BELGRADE: PLANS FORESEE UNCERTAINTY

What the builders of Komgrap of Belgrade will be doing this year—or, better, what they are supposed to build—is a question which the firm's planners have managed to answer only in rough outline. The just-completed preliminary plan, which does not cover the production plans of all the factories that are part of the Komgrap system, foresees work on a total of 48 projects for different purposes for domestic investors and another seven projects that would be built for foreign customers. First, the planners say, they should work to complete construction of projects begun in earlier years which are at the moment in the phase of finishing operations. That group consists mostly of 793 housing units (mainly in Belgrade), with effective area of about 48,000 square meters and about 26,000 square meters of business space. In the second group are projects just started or in the phase of primary "structural-finish" work. This refers to 854 housing units with an area of nearly 50,000 square meters and 17,730 square meters of business space. Finally, the third group consists of projects which still have to be contracted for during the year because everything to be done before conclusion of the contract has been done. Aside from 575 housing units with a total area of 28,632 square meters and 22,000 square meters of business space, contracts are to be concluded for the construction of housing developments at three locations (six structures) on the Montenegrin coast and also completion of construction of an arena in Budva (a project "frozen" at one time). Involvement abroad, as the planners see it, is certain on five projects begun in earlier years. A contract and commencement of work on two other construction projects are expected soon. These are mainly housing and business projects with a total area of about 82,000 square meters, on which an average of 300 of Komgrap's construction workers are expected to be working.

Should the plan be realized in these physical terms, it is calculated that Komgrap's total potential would not be utilized at higher than three-fourths. However, it is not altogether certain that what has been planned can be achieved. On the contrary, it is more likely that the trend will continue toward greater uncertainty this year in view of the external and (especially) internal blockades. Problem No. 1 will probably still be collection for work done both on the domestic market (because investors are illiquid) and on the foreign market (because the transfer of money is impeded by the international blockade). The impossibility of collecting for what has been done, especially when capacity is underutilized, represents a direct threat to completion of projects for solid investors able to pay, because the contractor also becomes unable to pay and because of his own illiquidity cannot obtain building supplies in good time. The use of credit, of course, is a still more certain way to lose money.

EI—NIS: DIFFERING CONSEQUENCES OF THE SANCTIONS

Members of the Electronics Industry [EI Nis] differ in how they are taking the burden of the blockade—some firms are battling great difficulties again at the outset of this year, but there are also factories that are managing to keep pace even with production cut back.

In the group of factories hurt worst by the blockade and other difficulties are the Semiconductor Factory, EI-Computers, EKOS, and Cegar. Of the approximately 6,500 employees in the EI system on mandatory leave in February, most come from those firms.

Thanks to substitution of imported materials and new production programs, a high degree of capacity utilization is being recorded by the Machines and Equipment Factory, Alatnica, and the Household Appliances Factory, which is managing to produce about 4,000 washing machines a month.

The 7 Oktobar Special Production Factory is continuing good cooperation with the railroads and the Army of Yugoslavia. In spite of all the difficulties, the Television Factory managed to produce 1,500 color TV sets in January and is now taking new steps to increase deliveries. The Printed Circuit Factory focused its stabilization program on relieving production of dependence on imports. Half of production supplies are now being obtained from domestic producers, and by midyear that percentage will be decreased [as published] by another 20 percent.

EI—NIS: TRANSFORMATION ACCORDING TO THE JAPANESE MODEL

A concept for further transformation of the holding corporation that will take advantage of Japanese experience in this area has been worked out at the Electronics Industry in Nis. According to these proposals, EI Nis will be transformed into at least 200 firms, and this "fragmentation" on profitable principles should contribute to more successful business performance of the members of the system and of the entire corporation.

The concept is based on redesigning the organization, management, and ownership of the entire system of Yugoslavia's largest electronics manufacturer. Particular emphasis is placed in this connection on the importance of ownership transformation in the future development of EI Nis.

Representatives of EI Nis say that the value of the property of EI Nis is estimated at between $2 and $3 billion and that 40 percent of that capital will continue to be government property. EI Nis will offer its employees 30 percent of the stock, while interested domestic and foreign partners will be able to purchase the remaining 30 percent. That will also open up the way to an inflow of fresh capital, which is necessary to bring in new technologies and for financial consolidation of the corporation.

Functions with the greatest strategic importance—from management of the system to personnel and marketing—will be concentrated at the level of the holding corporation.

PRVI MAJ—PIROT: PRODUCTION COVERED FOR THREE MONTHS

The Prvi Maj Clothing Industry in Pirot, which for years has been at the very top of Yugoslav clothing manufacturers, has contracted to make 40,000 men's woolen suits for Centrotekstil of Belgrade. The work will be completed by the end of the first quarter, and Centrotekstil will be relinquishing to the manufacturer in Pirot the production engineering of the clothing, which will make the work easier and speed up use of capacity. This kind of relationship between the two well-known firms has been nurtured for quite a long time and is beneficial to both.

The clothing manufacturers from Pirot also have solid contracts with Jugoeksport of Belgrade, the Beograd Department Store Firm, joint stock company, and certain other customers who for years have been taking the bulk of the output from Prvi Maj plants. These are jobs in which the domestic market is mainly interested, and they involve women's clothes and knitwear, which will round out employment of the relevant production capacities in narrowly specialized factories that are part of Prvi Maj.

It is calculated that so far about 70 percent of the work has been provided to employ factory capacity.

ZVEZDA—GORNJI MILANOVAC: OPERATION AT ONE-THIRD OF CAPACITY

The Zvezda Paint and Varnish Industry in Gornji Milanovac is operating at one-third capacity, and half of the employees are on mandatory leave. The workweek has been cut back to four days.

They say at Zvezda that they do not know which blockade is harder for them—the external or internal, by which they mean the price disparities, the sudden rise in the rates of foreign exchange, and problems of purchasing imported raw materials. There is also the problem of the price ceiling on finished products, which is a kind of absurdity because other essential factors are not subject to limits.

Large amounts of products from this industry have for years been planned all over Yugoslavia. The diminished domestic market and prohibited exports are threatening to shut down this producer of paint and varnishes altogether.

MIN—NIS: CONSORTIUM OF IRRIGATION EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURERS

MIN [Machine Industry of Nis] and EI Nis, the Jastrebac Pump Factory, Nissal, a joint stock company manufacturing aluminum, Juzna Gradnja, and some other firms in Nis will form a consortium for complete construction of irrigation systems.

A working agreement arrived at in the Nis Regional Economic Chamber emphasized that the consortium will be ready to offer programs of irrigation systems on the turnkey principle, from design, production, and installation of equipment to other matters involved in arrangements of this kind. It is envisaged that by 1995 systems will be built in Serbia to irrigate 120,000 hectares of land.

Representatives of republic institutions announced at the meeting in Nis that the recent competition for allocation of earmarked funds attracted 140 applications of interested organizations planning to install systems to irrigate 32,000 hectares. In view of the general shortage of money, it is estimated that the new irrigation systems would this year cover about 20,000 hectares. Only 2 percent of farmland is now irrigated in Serbia. In just the last two dry years, this important branch of the economy has suffered losses amounting to $2.5 billion.

POTENS FOUNDRY—POZEGA: PRODUCTION HAS NOT BEEN SHUT DOWN

So far, Potens Foundry, a mixed joint stock company, has not halted production, nor have the employees been put on mandatory leave. According to Nikola Sojic, director, most capacity has been fully employed, mainly to meet the needs of the railroad (the Belgrade and Podgorica Railroad Transportation Enterprise and the Skoplje Railroad Transportation Enterprise). Raw materials purchased in good time allow for unhindered production for the next several months.

"The blockade has disrupted some of the plans of the foundry and expansion of cooperation with foreign partners. Just when we were to begin deliveries of brake shoes for locomotives in Germany, the sanctions were introduced. We are not severing ties with foreign partners: And they, just like we, want the sanctions to be removed as soon as possible," Director Sojic says.

Thanks to solid business performance last year, the 200 employees received solid personal incomes—and on time every month.

PAPER FACTORY—BELGRADE: PRODUCTION OF KRAFT PAPER INITIATED

The Belgrade Paper Factory recently began production of kraft paper; annual output is to exceed 12,000 tons, which is sufficient for the production of 40 million paper bags in various sizes. According to estimates, those amounts would be sufficient to cover the needs of about 80 percent of Yugoslav consumers of this product. According to information obtained, this factory has stocks of 4,000 tons of unbleached softwood pulp, and contracts have been concluded for 8,000 tons of this raw material, the amount also necessary for this year's production.

According to Novica Malevic, director, the kraft paper will be made into bags by Litopapir of Cacak, in the 50-kg size, but also smaller sizes between 1 and 5 kg.

LEDA—KNJAZEVAC: PRODUCTS FROM WASTE

Leda of Knjazevac began the other day to make children's shoes from leather scrap. This program, referred to as Baby Shoes, did not require any investment because it is part of the shoe production program, and it is profitable, as was demonstrated from the very outset, because little pieces thrown away until recently are being used as a production supply. The little shoes are in various colors, leather and textiles are combined, and they have aroused the interest of the market.

In addition to these small shoes, at Leda they have also begun to use waste to make small and decorative leather accessories, various pendants, watchbands, and broaches.

WELDED-PIPE FACTORY—UROSEVAC: AT FULL CAPACITY

The Welded-Pipe Factory in Urosevac, which does business within the system of the Smederevo giant Sartid 1913, contracted at the beginning of the year to do work for Vodovod of Smederevska Palanka. This refers to the production of 800 tons of steel pipe, part of which will be insulated. At the same time, talks are being conducted with representatives of the Cerovo Mine (which is part of the Bor Mining and Smeltery Basin) concerning production of about 2,000 tons of pipe.

The heat-exchanger capacity of the Urosevac factory is running full force—it just finished fabricating pipe for Sever of Subotica. Actually, these are the pipe foundations of irrigation systems. An agreement is about to be reached with the same partner for 500 tons of pipe bridges, along with galvanizing services. That job would be started in April.

ALBUS—NOVI SAD: 2 GERMAN MARKS [DM] FOR A KILOGRAM OF DETERGENT

Following half a month of mandatory leave, Albus of Novi Sad recently started up machines for the production of detergent and soap. Price disparities between raw materials and finished products have not been corrected as anticipated by the people at Albus, and that is why 800 workers went on mandatory leave. Whether and how much Albus will operate will depend in coming days on further agreements concerning prices. Detergent producers are asking for DM2 per kilogram, which would be enough to avoid losses.

NEW PROJECTS AND RECONSTRUCTION

SELOVA—KURSUMLIJA: CONTINUATION OF WORK

The Republic of Serbia has provided the dinar equivalent of an additional $8.2 million to continue work on the Selova storage reservoir on the eastern side of Kopaonik. The financial support will help to revive more quickly this largest construction project in the south of Serbia.

Representatives of Selova in Kursumlija say that the opstinas which will be the users of the future regional water supply system—from the reservoir to Nis—are to provide another $3.8 million to continue construction of the dam, on which about 75 percent of the work envisaged has already been done.

Funds are to be furnished to build a water treatment plant and regional water supply system and for other purposes related to this capital investment project.

It is expected that by the end of 1995 several opstinas in Toplice and the city of Nis will be getting 900 liters of water per second from Selova and the new regional water supply system.

OSMI SEPTEMBAR—VLADICIN HAN: BRICKS AND MUSHROOMS

In old and abandoned plants of the Osmi Septembar Building Materials Industry in Vladicin Han, which stood unused for years, they have begun to produce mushrooms.

With small investments of money, the tunnels in which tiles, bricks, cement blocks, and other clay building materials were baked have been adapted and arranged for the cultivation of mushrooms. Delises, a food industry firm which has its own production lines for processing fruit, is interested in buying and preparing for the market the entire annual output of mushrooms.

In the firm Osmi Septembar, our correspondent reports, efforts are being made to improve and increase production this year (the average annual growth of output is 8-10 percent). Plans call for delivering to the market about 50 million tiles, thin-wall elements, blocks, and other building materials, five million units more than last year. The plan calls for starting up a line for automated production of blocks and raw bricks. About $2 million have been invested in machines, which will help to increase production, improve quality, and reduce costs.

NITEKS—NIS: PLANNED SHUTDOWN

Niteks, the textile firm in Nis, shut down most of its production lines in January and the planned shutdown will last until April. The old spinning mills will undergo reconstruction during that time and will be linked to plants under construction. Actually, 6,000 square meters of building space are being created; along with the existing spinning plants, this will constitute an important potential of 10,000 square meters equipped with machines for centrifugal pot spinning of cotton yarn. Investments in new projects and purchase of equipment will amount to about DM16 million. Niteks has already paid half of that amount.

This year's capital investment program at Niteks envisaged construction of a standard workshop, the purchase of machines for this program, as well as the purchase of 53 looms as an addition in the weaving room.

Milosevic's People in Federal Government

93BA0750A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 10-11

[Article by Bogdan Ivanisevic: "Our Subject: Scope of Federal Authority: Government of Our Discontent"]

[Text] *If anyone should be concerned about the events surrounding the formation of the Kontic cabinet, it is Dobrica Cosic: The new government is not concentrated, as he proposed, but rather a coalition—out of necessity—of two parties that are finding it ever-harder to hide their mutual intolerance.*

After six years as the top man in Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic is finally approaching the assumption of power in the federation as well—for the first time, the federal government is dominated by people from his workshop of cadre. Still, this should be no cause for excessive satisfaction. Over the past two years, Milosevic has had the real power in Yugoslavia, and moreover he has been able to shift the blame for political and economic problems to Markovic (a Croat) and Panic (an "American"), as the nominal top figures in the federal government.

Now the prime minister is another "outsider"—Montenegrin Radoje Kontic—but Milosevic's people have taken over the majority of ministerial posts. For that reason, shifting the blame to someone else will be less convincing than in the past. This does not have to be particularly problematic for Milosevic himself, because in Serbia as well he has managed, despite poor economic and political results, to avoid bringing public odium on himself (the "victims" have been Zelenovic and Bozovic). Thus, even now the Serbian leader will probably be spared the discontent resulting from the country's certain further decline. Nevertheless, there is something new: The public will realize that a federal government that does not achieve amazing successes is possible even if it does not include "Serbophobes" and "foreign mercenaries."

Based on the proposals on the composition of the Kontic cabinet that arrived from Belgrade, it appeared that the Serbian authorities want yet another government for whose results they will not bear responsibility. People who have figured as ministers or vice chairmen include Mihalj Kertes, Dobroslav Bjeletic, Radmila Milentijevic, Miroslav Milutinovic (currently the ambassador in Athens, previously known, among other things, as the person who played a prominent role in the expulsion of eight professor-"trainees" from the Humanities Department in Belgrade)....

Cosic and the Government

This selection of candidates could mean two things: a new effort to spite the democratic public, which began with the events on the Board of Belgrade University and the personnel shifts in the republican government (Danilo Z. Markovic for vice prime minister), or—as a second possibility—an attempt to impose ministers who, as Dragoljub Micunovic said at last week's conference of the Democratic Party [DS], will make the federal government unpopular and responsible for the problems that Yugoslavia will continue to encounter.

This list of proposed candidates was opposed by Kostic, but also, as some people well informed in these matters say, by Dobrica Cosic. The result: Of the people who are especially irritating to "Belgrade's circle of two," the only one in the new administration is Slobodan Ignjatovic, at one time the most passionate critic of Ante Markovic and later an editor at Radio Television Serbia. For the most part, the other ministers from Serbia are people that no one has ever heard of (and who will accordingly be easier to "bag"?), including the coalition partner of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS], as acknowledged by the head of the DPS caucus, Milan Gajovic, at a joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly.

Indirectly, one can conclude that Cosic took part in the formation of the government, and thus "helped" Vuk Ognjanovic, the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ], to resolve the dilemma in which he found himself: whether or not to resign. It is likely that the SPS, through Radoman Bozovic—as one of the two chairmen of the Assembly chambers, and thus the people who are responsible for calling joint sessions—would have postponed that session (i.e., the election of the government)

for a long time, or that the proposed SPS ministers would have withdrawn their candidacy. Finding himself in the position of the person because of whom a crisis of relations in the federation could arise, Ognjanovic, in a letter to Cosic, expressed his willingness "to fully respect any decision that you reach in the process of consolidating the unity and communal spirit of Serbia and Montenegro." In the end, Ognjanovic—based on the information available Wednesday morning, as this issue of NIN was being completed—submitted his resignation. At the very least, this means that Cosic did not attempt to persuade him to remain at the post of NBJ governor....

Thus, for the time being, the danger of "system collapse" at the very first juncture has been averted. Still, the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] president cannot be at ease: Not many of his initiatives intended to consolidate the country's unity and contribute to a lowering of tension have become a reality. It is true that Montenegro has enacted a new Constitution, in harmony with the federal one, but Serbia has done nothing in this regard; it has not changed a single article of the republican Constitution, nor has it announced any serious moves in that direction. The elections deepened even further the chasm between participants in political life, instead of bridging it.

Finally, the new government is not concentrated, as Cosic proposed, but rather a coalition—out of necessity—of two parties that are finding it ever harder to hide their mutual intolerance.

When Svetozar Marovic asked Radoman Bozovic at a session of the Chamber of Citizens to "spare us, albeit with true respect for your knowledge of parliamentarism, your views concerning the significance of consultation on the composition of the government," it was clear even to the doubting Thomases how far relations between the two parties had progressed—"to the zero level," as People's Party chairman Novak Kilibarda expressed it.

Roots of the Conflict

Although Kilibarda is willing to recognized strained relations only between the ruling parties, but not between the republics as a whole, the matter is not that innocuous. The very fact that the SPS and the DPS have most of their supporters in Serbia and Montenegro, respectively, indicates that the conflict—even if it existed only between those two parties—would not be insignificant.

More important is the fact that not even the orientations of the opposition parties in the two republics act as a guarantee of interrepublic harmony. A significant part of the opposition in Serbia is critical of the federal Constitution as being "confederal" and believes that Montenegro should be only one region in a future, rearranged Serbo-Montenegrin state. And in Montenegro, parties from the so-called Montenegrin bloc—with the exception of the local Socialist Party—have been unwilling even to send their representatives to the Federal Assembly....

Although it is probably true that a stable majority in Montenegro is in favor of a common state under even vaguely normal circumstances, the "day-to-day" operation of the federation, with such unequal members, is inevitably creating difficulties. According to information obtained "firsthand," during the consultations on the new government the SPS assured its coalition partners that the post of prime minister (Kontic's) is worth as much as five ministerial posts. In the end, Serbia got eight ministers more than Montenegro did. Wouldn't any other party in Serbia have sought a similar numerical ratio? Wouldn't other Montenegrin parties, similar to the DPS, have expressed dissatisfaction with this amount of representation by their ministers? In an interview with journalists before the session at which the Kontic government was elected, even Novak Kilibarda emphasized that "Serbia and Montenegro must be equal factors in the FRY."

The leaders of the opposition in the two republics probably would have said here that for their parties, as democratic ones, there would have been no obstacles to finding real solutions through tolerant talks. The problem is that the Montenegrin parties (except for the People's Party) expect that they would "tolerantly" argue that Montenegro must maintain its current separate status or even be sovereign, while parties from Serbia would insist on even stronger ties between Serbia and Montenegro.

Republics-States

It appears that the type of relations that could reduce the conflict between the republics to insignificance exists only between the DPS and the Democratic Party. Besides the previously exhibited signs of favor, the DPS has now sent a salutary telegram to the DS conference, and also asked that Miodrag Perisic become federal minister of information. But because of the Democratic Party's limited influence, its good understanding with the DPS will not be a particularly important factor in the foreseeable future.

Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic recently said that there would be no reason to have republican ministries of defense and foreign affairs if the federal authorities were to do their jobs properly. He did not specify what "properly" means. Perhaps that they comply with the positions of the Serbian leadership on every occasion? It is unrealistic, however, to assume that this would always result in agreement, especially not with relations between the coalition partners such as they are. That is why some SPS deputies at the Federal Assembly session said that harmonizing the federal and republican Constitutions must be approached "in phases and with coordination" (Zivadin Mihajlovic). There was no explanation for why this harmonization could not be carried out immediately. The reason is simple: Serbia will get rid of the unconstitutional parts of the biggest republican legal acts when the leadership feels that this is politically suitable, and not because this sort of harmonization is a basic demand of a rule-of-law state.

There is also mistrust on the opposite side. Montenegro still has both a minister of foreign affairs and a minister of defense. The attitude in the DPS is that the latter post will be eliminated—"if Serbia too shows that it respects the federal Constitution." The situation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is different. The leadership of that party says that the federal Constitution allows republics to maintain international relations and conclude international agreements, so that it is logical that a ministry exists that would handle such affairs....

The new/old minister of foreign affairs on the federal level is Vladislav Jovanovic. Comments could be heard in the Assembly hall Tuesday evening coming from people who have directly followed our diplomatic contacts over recent months, to the effect that the international community will not accept Jovanovic as a "negotiator." We will see very soon whether they are right. In any case, the Serbian leadership was apparently very interested in putting its man in this post. Several days before the election of the government, a broadcast was shown on state television in which Milijana Baletic argued that anyone who has stayed at the SSIP [Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs] for longer than it takes to wait for an application form must be infected with the virus of anti-Serbianism. Therefore, this also applies to Ilija Djukic, the prior minister of foreign affairs....

Sanctions and Concessions

Milan Gajovic, a new and important person in the innermost Montenegrin leadership, said in the Federal Assembly that the SPS has not given Radivoje Kontic the freedom to choose people according to expertise, and that a necessary condition for the lifting of the sanctions is that Yugoslavia be represented by people whose integrity and diplomatic skill in the international community are not open to question. This was a clear message that the DPS does not regard Vladislav Jovanovic as a person with those qualities.

The majority of Montenegrin deputies spoke of the need to have the sanctions lifted. The ones from the Socialist Party expressed this most directly—in Montenegro the conviction is growing stronger that their republic is in a "hostage" situation, they said. It is likely that politicians from Montenegro and Serbia will cross swords over the concessions that must be made in order to have the sanctions lifted—and the federal government could be the first one to suffer from this.

Specifications of New Tank Detailed

93BA0738B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 pp 36-37

[Article by S.V.: "The 'Whirlwind'"]

[Text] Yugoslavia organized the production of tanks by purchasing a license and by undertaking a substantial participation of its own development of sophisticated subsystems. With all due respect for the great tradition of the licensers in the production of combat vehicles which have all the features of their approach to design, production, use, and maintenance, even in the production of the first series of M-84 tanks, we note considerable improvements in the tank's tactical and technical characteristics. The greatest improvement was in firepower by introducing a new fire control system, which raised precision and accuracy to a higher level, increasing the probability of a hit with the first round to higher than 60 percent.

After several production runs, production of M-84A tanks was undertaken; while the level of firepower that had been achieved was retained, there were improvements in the sights and passive observation devices of the second generation, a considerable improvement in the level of armor protection, and increased mobility by installing a 1,000-HP (736-kW) engine.

Thanks to these improvements of essential performance characteristics, following lengthy tests of the innovations, the M-84A tank took its place under the sun of the Near East, where it had the designation M-84AB in the following versions: line tank, recovery tank, command tank, and tank with navigation equipment.

Encouraged by the recognized results achieved on the demanding world market, our experts did not stop there. They undertook with still greater enthusiasm the development of several versions of a tank prototype for the 21st century.

The name "Vihor" [Whirlwind] was given to the first prototype for its high mobility achieved very quickly thanks to a new 1,200-HP (882-kW) engine, the new hydrodynamic transmission, and entirely new running gear (crawler tracks, wheel supports, suspension, etc.), which accelerated a weight less than 45 tons to an incredible 72 km/hr. In addition to achieving favorable traction characteristics, maximum speed, and acceleration, an important breakthrough was also made in increasing the working comfort for members of the crew and in softening the springs, so that target sighting can be done even at speeds up to 45 km/hr.

Great progress was achieved in improving the convenience of maintenance. The engine and auxiliary devices are now replaced in less than 50 minutes, which is at the top of world standards, while on earlier models it took an incredible 90 hours. Aside from more rapid repairs, tank assembly time in the production process has also been shortened.

Firepower

The firepower of the new tank has been considerably improved through the use of a new fire control system, a new technology for manufacturing the barrel, and a new type of ammunition.

A completely new system has been developed to speed up fire with separate daytime, nighttime, and infrared channels and a laser range finder using new-generation sensors. To achieve the designed likelihood of a hit with the first round at a traveling speed up to 45 km/hr, a new

electric drive of the turret in the horizontal plane and the cannon in the vertical plane was developed and tested. A cannon barrel deformation sensor was added to the new generation of sensors; it feeds this seemingly unnoticeable phenomenon into the computer.

The multiprocessor high-speed computer of the last generation was designed in record time; it operates in real time and provides high probability of a hit. Thanks to a new architecture of the automatic cannon loader, its design has been simplified, it has fewer electromechanical components (a reduction by more than 340), its reliability and safety have been increased, because it is controlled by the computer.

Sensors of the ammunition type, amount of fuel, and other sources of energy make it possible to monitor the situation and residual capability and to report to the superior level. This has considerably simplified the monitoring of condition and supply.

The new generation of sights and observation devices allow the captain to monitor the gunner's work on a separate optical channel, and the dual controls allow for both the cannon and machine gun to be used if necessary.

An important technological effort was made to manufacture the new smooth-bore barrel of the 125-mm cannon. A new material was used, a new heat-treatment technology and new method of reinforcement using special alloys to reduce wear and provide surface protection. New thermal protection of the barrel has been developed, which reduces deformations resulting from uneven cooling during action.

Development of the versatile new hollow instant-action high-explosive shell and improvement of the hard-core shell have considerably increased the effectiveness of the shell against the target, the assortment of ammunition has been reduced, and this has resulted in an increase in firing speed to more than 10 rounds per minute.

Armor Protection

Armor protection and mobility are contradictory tank characteristics, because thicker armor increases the weight, reducing mobility assuming the same motor. These characteristics were given the same rank in order to achieve the maximum in both areas.

In addition to using the most recent knowledge from metallurgy, ceramic, glass, carbon, and plastic materials, changes were made in the attack angles of the various armor plate and in the shape and distribution of thicknesses of the armor and accompanying materials.

There was considerable improvement in the protection against hollow-charge projectiles by manufacturing new shields against hollow-charge projectiles that had new dimensions and were made from new material, which were combined with new protection procedures, which up to now have not been used anywhere. The configuration of the armored hull and turret has been adapted to the new type of active armor—an original contribution of our specialists and manufacturers.

Special devices afford high probability of survival of the crew members under extreme conditions of use (nuclear and chemical conditions), protection of assemblies and obstacle ability.

Use of the new generation of fire-detection sensors has improved the speed of reaction and effectiveness in extinguishing fire. A new system has been developed for detection of atomic-biological-chemical agents, along with methods of measurement, notification, and protection.

A laser emission sensor has been installed to warn crew members that the tank has been targeted. A great deal has also been done to improve comfort of crew members.

The successful development of several prototypes of the "Vihor" medium tank for the 21st century, the experience gained, and the success that has been achieved are the result of the correct orientation in relying on our own strengths and resources.

The advances achieved in metallurgy, optoelectronics, automation, and computer technology and other fields of superb technology indicate that the FRY has retained a sufficient critical mass of human, scientific, and production resources to make a tank for us, for the world, and for the 21st century.

Specifications	Dimensions
Overall length	9.74 m
Overall height	2.21 m
Combat weight	44 tons
Technical Characteristics	
Maximum speed	72 km/hr
Range	600-700 km
Engine	882 kW DIN (1,200 HP)
Engine characteristics	V46-tkl turbocharged
Specific power	20 kW/ton (27 HP/ton)
Transmission	2 lateral planetary gear boxes with 5 forward speeds and 1 reverse with hydraulic controls and progressive distribution of turning radius

Specifications	Dimensions
Water obstacle ability:	
Without preparation	1.8 m
With preparation	5 m
Basic Armament	
Cannon	125-mm 2A46A
Ammunition	42 shells, 22 in automatic loader
Auxiliary Armament	
Coaxial machine gun	7.62-mm
Machine gun in turret	12.7-mm
Fire Control System	
Cannon movement	Electrohydraulic
Stabilization	Gyrostabilization of turret and gun with independent sight axis
Nighttime visibility:	
Gunner and commander	Light amplifier or infrared (optional)
Crew	
1 commander	
1 gunner	
1 driver	

Serbian-Russian Arms Deal Detailed

93BA0715F Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by Fran Visnar: "Serbian Generals 'Hungry' for Missiles"]

[Text] *The price of missiles on order is $360 million, and the entire package of Serbian needs is rounded out by another 500 tanks worth $40 million; if this becomes a reality, then it will be a long-term political and strategic commitment.*

The discovery by the British press that despite the embargo Russians and Serbs are closing deals on the sale of heavy missile weaponry and other equipment is neither new nor shocking. Back in 1986, the general staff of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] showed interest in the new generation of Russian antiair systems. In the period from 1987 to 1988, Yugoslav generals contracted for the delivery of SAM-11 "Gadfly" troop antiair missiles; this agreement was recorded by Swedish professional military sources in their public yearbooks as early as 1989. But the destabilization of the USSR and events in Yugoslavia made it impossible to deliver 16 SAM-11 mobile launchers, with a total of 264 antiair missiles (four missiles are positioned on each tracked platform). The delivery became relevant once again a little more than a month ago (which is confirmed by British military intelligence sources). Now, besides the SAM-11's, the Serbs have also requested an entire series of antiair and antimissile systems.

Their list includes SAM-14 "Gremlin," SAM-16, and SAM-18 light antiair infantry launchers, with which the Serbian infantry in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the borderlands wants to replace the older SAM-7 ("Strela" 2M) system. The models in question are significantly modified, have a more powerful warhead, are more resistant to infrared jamming, and in so-called "leaps" (the firing of additional missiles) they also attack the pilot cabin and engines from above. Besides the Serbs, the Indians also own the SAM-11 "Gadfly" system. Last year, they even bought 50 SAM-11 launchers (they also have 90 SAM-16's) and have extremely complimentary things to say about the capabilities of the missiles fired from an SPM type 9A310 heavy self-propelled tracked vehicle, which reaches a speed of 65 km an hour with a maximum radius of 500 km.

Besides the launcher, the Serbs have ordered SAM-11 system missiles (each weighs 690 kg, with a high destructive charge of 70 kg), as well as the TAR 9S18 target-acquisition radar and the CP 9S470 command vehicle (tracked), with which 15 to 75 air targets can be tracked at the same time. The TAR radar has a maximum range of 100 km, while the missile reaches a horizontal range of 70 km. In altitude (vertically), the SAM-11 pinpoints targets at a range of 22 to 32 km.

The Serbs insisted in particular that the SAM-11 system be delivered as a full set with the addition of an LL 9A39 self-propelled automatic loader, which quickly mounts four antiair missiles on the basic launcher, and KRAZ-255B heavy trucks, which transport SAM-11 missiles over long distances. The Serb motive for acquiring these rather sophisticated missiles is to supplement the older SAM-6 mobile antiair system (which NATO successfully jams) and the desire to add to their effective downing range, besides Western fighter-bombers, also U.S. TR-1 spy planes (the successor to the U-2) and AWACS E-2 "Hawkeye" (naval) and E-3A "Sentry" (B/C) electronic airplanes for early warning and homing, with which

NATO and the United States are monitoring Serbian, Montenegrin, and B-H airspace.

This does not satisfy the Serbian appetites. The Russian generals have also been asked to supply SAM-12 "Gladiator" and SAM-X-12B "Super Giant" missile systems, which can destroy any known surface-to-surface missile made in the West ("Lance," "Pershing," "Pluton") at a distance of 100 to 120 km, but also B-52, B-1, and B-2 strategic bombers. Given the fact that in the past the Russians have shown reserve in connection with the SAM 12 A and B, it is certain that the Serbs will not immediately get "Gladiators" and "Giants," which are still Russia's strategic trump cards, but because of that Belgrade ended up putting on its list of needs a reserve delivery of the smaller SAM-10 "Grumble" antimissile system, which the Russians have supplied to the Bulgarians (type A, 20 three-barrel launchers) and to the Czechs (type B, 12 four-barrel launchers).

Specifically, the hyperfast S-300 missiles from the SAM-10 system, traveling at a speed of 4,200 km/h, intercept and destroy cruise missiles flying at an altitude of 25 to 50 meters. Their total range is 50 km, they have their own radar (phased array) which tracks six targets simultaneously, and in parallel they also use the TAR 9S18 observation radar from the SAM-11 antiair system. With the SAM-10 A and B system, the Serbs primarily want to defend themselves against a surprise attack by cruise missiles, but also by surface-to-surface missiles (it can down them as well); of secondary importance, the SAM-10 will replace the outdated SAM-2 and SAM-3 antiair missiles used by the Air Force and Air Defense.

The price of all these missiles is $360 million, while the entire package of Serbian needs is rounded out by another 500 T-55, T-72, and T-80 tanks (the last of which has the strongest armor) worth another $40 million in order to compensate for the losses in Slovenia and Croatia. If this Serbo-Russian transaction or business negotiation on "intentions" becomes a reality, either in part or in whole, then it will be a long-term political and strategic commitment, so that the continuous criticism of Croatia for arming itself and violating the embargo on the import of arms become completely superfluous.

Sanctions Effects on Pharmaceutical Products

93BA0739C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by Olivera Popovic: "Pharmacies Empty Because of Imported Raw Materials"]

[Text] The shortage of drugs, medical supplies, and bandages, judging by the reports coming in from hospitals in Serbia and Belgrade, is taking on ever more dramatic dimensions. On the first day after the weekend, the Belgrade Emergency Center did not have a single ampule of antibiotics, we were told by the well-informed. A real storm was aroused by the report that a child died in the Children's Clinic because of the shortage of antibiotics. Fortunately, the report was not true, but everyone is warning that it could happen unless something of the most urgent nature is done.

In Belgrade pharmacies, they do not recall a harder time. Drugs are arriving irregularly, and even when they come, the quantities for Belgrade are token amounts. At the same time, a drug which can be purchased only for cash is inaccessible to many in our situation and for our impoverished budgets.

Supply Reduced to One-Third

According to Mr. Branko Radovic, director of the Belgrade Pharmacy Institution, there is a shortage at the moment of almost half of the drugs, and if difficult conditions like these persist much longer, it soon will be possible to obtain only one-third of the drugs in a pharmacy.

Why are there no drugs?

"The drugs are scarce because everything has been disrupted since back in November, when imports of the raw materials were banned because of the blockade," Mr. Radovic briefly explains.

Our pharmaceutical factories cannot manufacture drugs whose production is based mostly on imported raw materials. However, our informant explained, the problem arose when the officials in the Committee for Implementing the Sanctions "realized" that some of our pharmaceutical factories were managing to export their products in spite of the blockade, and the permits and clearances for importation of raw materials to make drugs were issued under the exclusive obligation that they be used to meet domestic needs. Since that time, permits to import raw materials have been discontinued.

Mr. Miodrag Babic, general director of the pharmaceutical factory Ineks Hemofarm in Vrsac, confirms that the main cause of the ever greater shortages of drugs is indeed permits to import the raw materials, which have not been forthcoming since November. Mr. Babic says that everyone has been put on the suspect list because of the violation of the provision banning the export of drugs, supposedly with shipments to Slovenia.

"All the permits that were in effect have now been used and there are practically no legal ways of obtaining them. We will operate legally as long as we can, and after that, let the UN Sanctions Committee take responsibility for the consequences. You can just imagine what will happen when this factory stops making infusion solutions and dialysis kits," Mr. Babic warns.

Resolving the Issue of Prices

Because of the ban on exports, domestic drug manufacturers are no longer able to realize their own inflow of foreign exchange. They are compelled to purchase foreign exchange wherever they can. Because foreign exchange has not been arriving from the National Bank since October, they have turned to the black market, and the disastrous upward leaps of the German mark are

well-known even to those who know absolutely nothing about economics. So, according to Mr. Babic, the issue of drug prices must also be resolved, as well as the question of the funds which the health service, although this is an activity which is doing more than ever now, is not paying.

The pharmaceutical factory in Vrsac also issues a warning that inventories of this domestic manufacturer are critical.

"When it comes to the most important drugs, infusion solutions, and dialyzators, we deliver it, although that is a direct loss for Hemofarm. However, we will not survive much longer, at a maximum rate of consumption we have enough for barely three weeks. We are not delivering what does not come under the category of what is most critical. We simply have to think about our survival," Mr. Babic adds.

The man who heads this pharmaceutical factory states categorically that the question of whether there will be drugs or the shortages will get still more dramatic does not depend at this point on the drug manufacturers. They have been pointing up this fact to the competent officials for three months already, Mr. Babic says.

The solution being mentioned more and more frequently is the importation of finished drugs; supposedly the Sanctions Committee would grant consent without any problem. But what would that mean to the domestic pharmaceutical industry?

Which Is the Smaller Loss

"That would not be so disastrous for the pharmaceutical industry as for the health service and the economy in general. After all, the foreign exchange earmarked for drugs will then be spent fivefold faster," says Mr. Babic.

Also, as we were assured by Mr. Babic, the first imported finished drugs would arrive at the earliest in a month or three months. "We thus become captives dependent on supply from abroad, even though we have seven domestic manufacturers," our informant says.

We also need to think about the technical aspects of that solution: Just for the importation of infusion solutions needed by the health service, we need 900 trucks.

Mr. Branko Radovic believes that participation or more rapid payment will not improve the supply. Dinars can be printed, but still the raw materials will not be available.

"The first measure, then, must be to face the truth, because otherwise we cannot take any serious steps. When the competent ministries, above all the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, determine what can be done under the conditions of the blockade, it will be possible to make a sensible decision. Which means, if it is found that the sanctions will persist another six months in this area, let them say which is the smaller loss," Mr. Radovic states his opinion.

Increased Chaos in Private Banks

93BA0786A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by Lj. Rabrenovic: "Every Greater Chaos Even in the Private Banks"]

[Text] The problems with the shortage of dinars which until recently were confronted mainly by the government banks have now moved to the private banks as well. Savers can no longer withdraw interest on the appointed day, but must come the next day or the day after that, and more and more frequently they are getting their money only after several days. In the meantime, the rate of foreign exchange on the black market and, of course, prices—are going wild.

The public seems to be fed up with waiting in line for hours, keeping silent and putting up with it. Disgusted, quite often people vent their anger on bank employees. Many cancel their contracts and withdraw the principal, relinquishing both a part of the principal and the interest. There is obviously less and less confidence, especially after Jezdimir Vasiljevic's mysterious departure.

Yesterday, there were huge lines in front of the Jugoskandik office. Although many savers had come just in order to cancel their contracts, there were quite a few who were patiently waiting for their interest.

"We have enough dinars and we are paying interest to savers on time. It is the same case with foreign exchange. Because there is a large crowd, as there always is when payment dates coincide, we give out numbers to people so that the next day they can come for their money," say employees at Jugoskandik.

The lines in front of Dafiment Banka were immense as usual. According to Slavica Vujicic from the Information Department of Dafiment Banka, the lack of cash is the only reason why there is waiting for payment of dinar interest.

"All those whose monthly interest is less than 500,000 dinars get their money immediately. However, if the interest is greater than that amount, they must wait, because we do not have enough cash. We arrange with the savers for another date when we will be able to pay them the money," Slavica Vujicic says.

As for foreign exchange, payments are being made in this bank without problems, and Slavica Vujicic explains the long lines in front of the Dafiment Banka office by saying that each office operates according to a different principle according to the number of savings depositors.

The savings depositors of Karic Banka are also dissatisfied. There are cases when they come for their interest several times, but the bank does not have dinars to pay them. However, the officials in this bank did not want to be clear about what problems are involved.

"The company's position is not to furnish any information to the public, and savings depositors can get information about their deposits and interest at the bank's windows," says Ljiljana Zoranovic of the Karic Banka Information Department.

In Kredibel Banka, they say that they have enough dinars and that interest is being paid without any problems whatsoever.

The public is more and more beginning to be suspicious even of savings banks which buy foreign exchange from giro accounts. An example is Interplast Trejd in the Trade Union Center, where on 4 March individuals deposited their foreign exchange, expecting that the very next day they would have dinars in their current accounts. However, the money was paid out a day late, and employees in that office explained their mistake by saying "the computer system was down." Incidentally, employees in this savings bank said yesterday that payment into people's accounts are continuing to arrive the next day and that in the future there will be no problems at all.

It seems the time has come when many people will be keeping their money in the mattress if they get any in the future. But perhaps it is better to lose their money than their nerves.

Slovenia Reportedly Exporting Serbian Wheat

93BA0750C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by B. Gulan: "Slovenia Exporting Serbian Wheat?"]

[Text] Belgrade—Slovenia, which cannot feed its population with its own output of food, has become a major exporter of wheat!

"We have information indicating that Slovenia has exported around 200,000 metric tons of wheat to Russia," says Jovo Ivanisevic, chairman of the Cooperative Alliance of Yugoslavia. "I wonder where they produced that when the only thing that they produce enough of to export is milk."

It is absurd that at a time when 2.1 million metric tons of wheat have been harvested in Serbia and 1.7 million metric tons are needed for food, there is no grain, while the people in charge say that grain for bread is now being exported from the republic to Slovenia. This export of wheat from Slovenia has been unofficially linked to possible grain machinations by former Minister Sava Vlajkovic.

Now that flour and wheat can be gotten primarily "on the sly," official institutions in Yugoslavia are already thinking about demanding that grains be imported into the country as humanitarian aid.

"I wonder who is now seeking the import of wheat," Jovo Ivanisevic emphasizes. "Enough was grown, but because of bad policy the grain was not bought up, so that now, practically speaking, an artificial shortage has been created. The grain is there, but the farmers are keeping it for themselves, so the stores are empty. Politics is the cause of this situation, and I wonder where the money to import wheat is coming from when there is no money to buy intermediate goods for the spring planting."

Directors of Firms, Banks on Surviving Sanctions

93BA0787C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by S. Cedic: "How To Survive Until the Sanctions Are Removed"]

[Text] In the situation where removal of the sanctions is not visible on the horizon, and the international blockade makes it impossible to adopt a sound and effective stabilization program, all the federal government can do is lower inflation to a tolerable level at which we can at least wait to get out of isolation.

This is what Dr. Radoje Kontic, federal prime minister, said yesterday at the beginning of a discussion with invited directors of several dozen of the largest firms in the country, bankers, and prestigious economists. Along with the remark that they are aware of all the restrictions that have to be combated to halt the drop of production and then to bring it back to life, and also to combat hyperinflation, Dr. Radoje Kontic nevertheless announced that the government is not giving up on the necessary "bypasses" as a means of survival until the sanctions are removed, and among them one of the important places is taken by this year's reduction of public expenditure to 55 percent of the social product.

Enterprise directors, bankers, and economists said what they thought the government should do in answer to the prime minister's question.

Foreign Exchange Credit Financing of the Most Vital Production

Ljubomir Mihajlovic, director of Komercijalna Banka D.D. [Commercial Bank, joint stock company] in Belgrade, warned that if the sanctions are not removed soon, the economy should be allowed freedom of action and stable business conditions.

Mihajlovic specifically recommended urgent discontinuation of speculative interest. And then ongoing adjustment of foreign exchange rates—every 15 days or at the end of every month—to market rates. The prestigious banker also favored introduction of temporary and limited foreign exchange transactions in which certain goods might also be sold for foreign currencies, and foreign exchange credit financing would be provided to certain of the most vital and important lines of activity as well as to solve the problem of old foreign exchange savings.

Zivadin Mihajlovic, who heads Stankom in Belgrade, believes that construction is one of the sectors which should be stimulated by economic policy measures. While expressing objections to some of the decrees of the Serbian Government, which for all practical purposes have made it impossible for insurance organizations to operate, and have placed private and mixed construction firms in an inequitable position relative to socialized firms, Mihajlovic favored preventing socialized firms from having a monopoly on the market.

The sanctions are a cruel economic war imposed on us, and for 10 months now we have been improvising what should have been organized to maintain the most vital production operation which can still function, is the opinion of Dusko Matkovic, director of Sartid 1913 (the former MKS). According to him, certain price control measures are necessary if employees are to survive.

Danilo Vuksanovic, director of the Aluminum Combine in Podgorica, the sole producer of that metal in the present Yugoslavia, repeated his proposal that the government facilitate production in those activities which are essential to many entities in the technological chain by purchasing certain products competitive as exports and storing them until trade opportunities with the world return.

Controlled Expenditure of Foreign Exchange Is Necessary

Having said that there should be no illusion that we can get out of this situation without paying the consequences, Luka Mackic, director of the Beograd Agricultural Combine, listed the main causes of our troubles, which the government, he believes, should begin to work on as soon as possible. They are losing the markets of the former republics and the world for the purchasing and marketing of raw materials, production supplies, and finished goods, the inappropriate economic structure, consumption (both public expenditure and personal consumption) that is out of line with present capabilities, and the system that has been created in which it is possible to live with little work or none at all....

Dr. Mladjen Kovacevic, as in earlier discussions with Kontic before he actually took office, opposed the general freeze. Stating his judgment that we still are not aware of how serious the consequences of the sanctions are, Kovacevic repeated his forecast that in the coming four or five months there is not even a minimum practical chance of reviving production.

Most of the participants spoke about practical difficulties they face in their firms (Geneks, Ineks-Hemofarm, the Bor Mining and Smeltery Basin, Budvanska Rivijera, Sever, Titeks...), from the withholding of import permits for raw materials to make drugs to the surrounding of completely legal firms in Copenhagen by the Danish Security Service and police. Proponents and opponents of public work were also heard from, while Milos Milosavljevic, director of Jugobanka D.D., declared the dilemmas over "the market or government administration" and similar things completely superfluous in our present circumstances. We have not chosen the model of a closed economy, but it has been imposed on us, and after these months of very irrational behavior and expenditure of foreign exchange, we need highly controlled handling of the country's physical and financial reserves which we still have, Milosavljevic was explicit.

Experts Warn of Counterfeit German Mark Notes

93BA0739A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by S. Vujosevic: "How To Recognize Counterfeit Marks"]

[Text] Today, all the statistics show that the German mark and other foreign currencies have pushed their way into everyone's life, whether by means of the excessively high prices or as the last and only possibility of rescuing from inflation the few dinars received as wages or some other form of income. Provided, of course, that real foreign currency is obtained in exchange for the real dinars offered. But otherwise....

On Yugoslav territory, there have been more and more attempts, successful ones in fact, to sell counterfeit foreign money.

The New Counterfeit Bank Note

Thus, a new counterfeit bill has turned up on the foreign currency market. This is the 200- German mark [DM] bill.

"Recently, this counterfeit bill, which was made on a color laser copier, has been turning up more and more frequently. The inflow of counterfeit bills presented for expert evaluation is increasing every day," say Miodrag Todorovski and Marko Puletic, experts on counterfeit foreign money in the Foreign Currency Department of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Every day we receive more than 20 requests to examine the authenticity of bank notes sent here. In the end, the experts stamp most of them, almost all of them, a single word: "Counterfeit."

"Just a few days ago, we received 23 requests for expert evaluation from the office of Dafiment Banka in Novi Sad. Counterfeit bills in the denomination of the old DM500 bill and the new DM100 and DM200 bills are turning up much more frequently now than before. From what we have been able to learn, this money is coming from Austria and Germany by way of Romania and Bulgaria," they say in the Foreign Currency Department of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Last year alone, our foreign money experts discovered 11 new counterfeit bills which had not been registered with the General Secretariat of Interpol. The Foreign Currency Department of the National Bank of Yugoslavia is

the only place in the country which receives all information about new technologies and counterfeits, as well as all other information from the world concerning counterfeiting and the manufacturing of foreign bank notes.

"Only we have the legal authority to train personnel from the banks and currency exchanges to recognize counterfeit money. But undefined things are happening at the moment with the private currency exchanges. That is, we do not receive any money at all from them for expert evaluation, as if they are 'immune' to counterfeits. We do not know whether they do this out of ignorance or deliberately, but in any case this indicates that either they do not have well-trained people or they are putting the counterfeit bills back into circulation. It is almost impossible that no currency exchange should absolutely never get even suspicious money," they say in the Foreign Currency Department of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Training Is the Best Defense

Even our top experts have trouble recognizing very well made counterfeits that have turned up in banks, but the poorer ones can nevertheless be recognized if the cashier is trained.

"We provide training in banks and at the request of currency exchanges, although now others are emerging who offer training. Many will complete those courses convinced that they have gotten something, when in fact they have been only superficially or partially or even mistakenly informed," they say in the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Even in the Foreign Currency Department, where they have top-flight technology for discovering counterfeits, they are unable to defeat some of the counterfeit bank notes. These are very well made counterfeit bills which according to some information are coming from Iran and are printed in the government mint. A sizable quantity of counterfeit $100 bills even got into the Swiss treasury.

"Private currency exchange operators frequently ask how to eliminate the risk when they buy foreign bank notes. They are buying scanners which react to magnetism in the dye or the security thread, but they are not a reliable enough aid, but can serve only as an auxiliary tool," Todorovski says.

How is one to recognize a counterfeit, especially on the street, where the exchange of dinars for foreign exchange takes place quickly out of fear of the police?

"It is difficult to make a brief answer, but the essential thing is for the person buying the foreign bill to know what its original looks like, what its dimensions are, and at least some of the features," Todorovski says.

The bank note should have the security thread or seal, depth, the colors should not be too sharp, nor the shades overemphasized. In addition, it should also have the right format. All original bank notes also have a pronounced relief at places where the letters are largest or an overlay of dye, which ought not to come off.

"The color is easily removed and peeled off even from very good laser color copies. These bills cannot stay in circulation long, because they peel. Nevertheless, in order to give the counterfeit the appearance of a real bank note, the counterfeiters crumple them, put them in their shoes, in their pockets, they paint them with oil and other paints, they do everything to give them the most natural appearance," they explain in the Foreign Currency Department of the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, all the advice is worth little in practice. This is proven by the increasing number of people who have an unpleasant surprise in store when professional and trained cashiers show them their foreign exchange "wealth."

Serbia

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Churkin Arrives in Belgrade

LD3003150993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin arrived in his capacity as a special envoy of the president of the Russian Federation in Belgrade today, as stated in Moscow, "to continue contacts with authorities in Yugoslavia, Serbia, and with Bosnian Serbs".

It is expected that in the course of his three-day visit to Belgrade Churkin will meet Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic. It is also expected that he will meet Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon and Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. As expected, he will have a meeting with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has been learned from unofficial sources that there is a chance that Churkin might go to Pale [the seat of the Bosnian Serb authorities] and then to Sarajevo, where he would meet representatives of the Bosnian Muslims. [passage omitted]

'No Spectacular Results' Expected

LD3003170293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin arrived in Belgrade on Tuesday [30 March] as a special envoy of the Russian president to continue contacts with the authorities of Yugoslavia and Serbia and Bosnian Serbs.

During his three-day visit, Churkin is expected to meet with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic. Churkin is scheduled to meet with Serbian President Slobodan

Milosevic on Tuesday afternoon and with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on Tuesday evening.

Churkin is also expected to meet with President of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic.

According to unofficial reports, Churkin may visit Pale, the political and administrative centre of the Serb republic, and Sarajevo, where he would meet with Bosnian Moslems representatives.

U.S. diplomat Regina Bartholomew and Churkin are members of the team of the cochairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and David Owen.

Churkin's visit to Belgrade and his possible visit to Sarajevo are aimed solely at the realization of the Vance-Owen peace plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Churkin obviously intends to obtain a promise from Radovan Karadzic that he would sign the document with a map on the future territorial and administrative division of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Officials in Belgrade do not expect any spectacular results from Churkin's visit, because the issue of BOsnia is too complex to be solved through routine diplomatic contacts, let alone with the use of double standards, one-sided dictates, sanctions, ultimatums and military intervention threats.

Milosevic, Churkin Hold Talks

AU3003192693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] As we have said, President Milosevic of Serbia today received Vitaly Churkin, deputy foreign minister of Russia. In a lengthy and frank conversation they exchanged views on the current political issues of importance to the peace and stability in the region. Particular emphasis was placed on the political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the efforts made by the Republic of Serbia to ensure a just and lasting peace on the territories where the civil war is being fought.

In connection with establishing bilateral relations between Serbia and Russia, it was stressed that the Serbian and Russian peoples had a long history of friendship, and that Serbia and Russia had a clear common interest in the continuation and development of overall mutual relations and cooperation. This was said in the statement by the cabinet of the president of Serbia.

Statement Issued

LD3003194893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. According to a statement, which the president's office sent to TANJUG this evening, "views on current political issues concerning peace and stability in the region were exchanged during the lengthy and open talks. Special stress was placed on a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the efforts of the Republic of Serbia directed toward achieving just and lasting peace in the areas where the civil war is being waged.

In connection with bilateral relations between Serbia and Russia, it was stressed that the Serbian and Russian nations have been linked by a long-lasting historical friendship and that Serbia and Russia share a clear mutual interest in successfully continuing and further developing versatile mutual relations and cooperation," the statement on the talks between President Milosevic and Vitaliy Churkin says.

Sainovic Urges 'Steady Contact' With Germany

LD3003170093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1539 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Bonn, March 30 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has called the German economy now to begin to think about the period to come once the current U.N. sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) are lifted [sentence as received].

Sainovic, in an interview to DIE WIRTSCHAFT economic paper, assesses that the sanctions, imposed on May 30 [of 1992], are completely unjust and, in the U.N. practice, unprecedented. He singled out two major problems caused by the sanctions: first, the supply of population with foodstuffs, medicine, and fuel and power, and, secondly, the impeded navigation of Yugoslav vessels through the Danube's iron gates high dam which is exempted from the embargo for being an internal Yugoslav waterway.

Sainovic said that the effects of the sanctions were 'enormous' and the inflation under such conditions was 'an inevitable, direct product of the blockade.'

Despite this situation, said he, the government of Serbia 'will do all to bridle the current hyperinflation in the next three months.'

Sainovic underscored that the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia had 'huge consequences for all its parts.'

The F.R.Y. 'must maintain the continuity of its membership in the International Monetary Fund' and 'is ready to perform its obligations ensuing from the continuity,' said Sainovic and added that the division of the former Yugoslavia's property and debts was not a problem.

As for the German-Yugoslav economic relations, Sainovic deplored the fact that Germany had undertaken certain unilateral steps still before the U.N. sanctions were imposed.

'In Yugoslavia, there are all natural conditions for cooperation, so that I recommend to representatives of the German economy not to forget their partners but to maintain steady contact and exchange information with them,' he said.

West Germany was the former Yugoslavia's major trade partner among Western countries.

New Details on Financial-Political Crime

93BA0787B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by N.P.: "Ministerial Ties for Foreign Exchange and Petroleum"]

[Text] A minister in pretrial custody, a banker in Israel, and a public waiting for an answer to the question of what the end will be of the major financial-political process marked as the beginning of the campaign against crime.

One of the Serbian officials detained, former Trade Minister Sava Vlajkovic, was interrogated yesterday. POLITIKA has learned that he rejects the allegations contained in the charge of malfeasance. His successor, Velimir Mihajlovic, is also in pretrial custody. Both of them, it is suspected, took part in the importation and sale of petroleum for which they allegedly collected the ministerial profit margin.

The investigation of the ministers has caused tension in certain circles. It is said that the question put most frequently yesterday in political circles was this: Who is next? It is assumed, that is, that the group of those who use their political power for personal enrichment outside the law extends beyond those mentioned up to now.

It is also suspected that the exchange rates of foreign currencies on the black market were also dictated by transactions with petroleum originating in the offices of ministers. The days to come will show whether this has anything to do with the sudden departure for Israel of Jezdimir Vasiljevic, owner of Jugoskandik.

While foreign correspondents and Israeli newsmen are chasing Jezdimir Vasiljevic around Tel Aviv, trying to get some statement from him, the situation in Yugoslavia resulting from the departure of the top man at Jugoskandik has all the features of uncertainty. That was evidenced yesterday by the news conference held by Stevan Protic, acting director of Jugoskandik, who tried to assure savings depositors that the money which they had deposited would be returned to them. Protic mentioned at the same time that he personally cannot give a guarantee to anyone that this will actually occur.

In response to several specific questions by newsmen about the case of Vasiljevic's departure, Protic was unable to offer precise answers yesterday. He thus never answered the question of where the key to the vault is. According to him, Jugoskandik's top man is supposed to return to Yugoslavia on Sunday, and Protic will be performing his new duties until that time.

Banking specialists warn that any major rush to tellers' windows to get back savings would ruin even banks much larger and more stable than Jugoskandik. They therefore advise savings depositors that any haste of that kind could have undesirable consequences.

Democratic Party Condemns Legalized Crime

93BA0787A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 p 6

[Article by S.Z.: "Democratic Party of Serbia: Crime Entrenched in the Top Level of Government"]

[Text] The arrest of the ministers and Jezdimir Vasiljevic's flight from the country only confirm the conviction of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] that the roots of evil lie in the system established by the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and in which lawlessness, the rules of the Mafia, and easily made promises prevail was the assessment offered yesterday in a press conference by Milorad Jovanovic, DSS spokesman.

Two cases, however, do not signify more than an incident, and in Jovanovic's opinion those pulling the strings from behind the scenes will not be brought to face justice.

He noted once again that Radoman Bozovic and Nikola Sainovic, whose political responsibility is obvious, still have not made themselves heard concerning the arrest of their ministers, and Zoran Sokolovic, minister of internal affairs is also keeping silent.

The common thread in the domestic criminal chronicle, Jovanovic says, is that the regime has become entrammeled in lawlessness, the economic system, based on speculative banking, is in crisis, and all of this is accompanied by crime which on the one hand is entrenched in the very top level of government, while on the other it is linked to conventional crime.

Jovanovic warned that the collapse of the speculative banks, for example—when four million people are living on interest from them—has created conditions for strong political and social upheavals that could degenerate into dictatorship.

The Democratic Party of Serbia sees the way out in major democratic change. The opposition, according to Jovanovic, has no need now to concern itself with unification, nor to protest in the streets, but it should strengthen its party organization and establish ties with the public, with associations, and with important government institutions, all of this toward the objective—if a chaotic situation arises—of not allowing the turn toward dictatorship and enforcing a move toward democracy.

Jovanovic made a public appeal yesterday to Zoran Lilic, president of the Serbian Assembly, to immediately

end the administrative trifling and make it possible to pay the deputy salaries, which the DSS has renounced, into giro accounts for refugees and wounded.

Macedonia

Government Rejects UN Name Proposal

LD3003170493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Skopje, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Government is not ready to accept under any condition the name "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" for the new Macedonian state, says a government statement issued this afternoon.

The name is contained in a draft UN Security Council resolution for the admittance of this republic in the United Nations.

The Security Council has been informed about this stance of the Skopje government. The Macedonian Government accepts [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen] Vance and Owen's mediation in the dispute with Greece, but it indicates that the only acceptable solution is for the republic to be recognized and admitted in the United Nations under its constitutional name.

The government voiced the hope that Macedonia's admittance to the United Nations would help the republic win other arguments in its dispute with Greece.

Gligorov Addresses Nation on Possible UN Admission

LD3103102893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0812 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Skopje, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov last night went on television to address his citizens in response to a report from New York that the UN Security Council is going to recommend that Macedonian be admitted to the United Nations under the name of "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" and in the light of many protests from the opposition.

In a lengthy speech, Gligorov described as more or less successful the overall efforts by Macedonian officials to secure the republic's admission to the UN.

He said that as a result of these efforts, the Bucharest peace, which in 1913 sanctioned the division of Macedonia into four parts, will be revised and the unfair treatment of Macedonia in the Versailles Treaty partially rectified.

Gligorov went on to say that Macedonia's policy is aimed at securing the integration of the Balkans into Europe and Macedonia's membership into the EC.

The [Macedonian] leadership resolved the dilemma of whether to join the UN under certain conditions by opting for membership in this world organization while at the same time accepting partly the realistic situation in the world but without sacrificing any of the republic's vital interests.

According to the Macedonian president, all attempts by Greece to either prevent or delay the republic's admission to the UN have ended in failure. Gligorov said there will be no arbitration in the process of resolving the conflict with that country [Greece] and that all controversial issues will be tackled through the mediation efforts of Vance and Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen] within two months after the admission.

No controversial issue can be solved without prior agreement with representatives of the republic. Macedonian representatives have not been asked to change the constitutional name of the state or to change the republic's constitution, passport or anything else, Gligorov said.

Thanks to our efforts, the phrase "former Yugoslav republic" has been deleted from the text of the resolution and will only be used during the next two months in reference to the republic within the UN and not in the republic's international relations with the world, Gligorov said.

In Gligorov's explanati[illegible] the efforts by Vance and Owen to mediate in [illegible]nflict between Skopje and Athens are not d[illegible] impose solutions but to provide good servi[illegible]lacedonian president went on to say that UN rep[illegible]sentatives were told that the phrase "former Yugoslav republic" is detrimental to the interests of the new state because of its implication that Macedonia is part of the present-day or any other Yugoslavia.

Gligorov also said that once the republic has been admitted to the UN, its leadership will have the opportunity to fight even more successfully for its interests in the conflict with Greece.

The first step Macedonia will take once it is internationally recognized will be to seek membership in the EC. This will open up European markets, credits, and capital to the republic, Kiro Gligorov said in conclusion.

Montenegro

Telephone, Electricity Prices Up By 274 Percent

LD3003202193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Podgorica, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The price of electricity and telephone services went up in Montenegro today.

By a decision of the government commission for economic policy, electricity went up by 274 percent on

average. Since from 1 April, electricity prices will be determined on the basis of cheaper, so-called summer tariffs, the electricity price will go up by 182 percent in comparison with the current price.

By the commission decision, the price of a telephone unit is 1,400 dinars, and monthly rental of telephone lines is 70,000 dinars for individuals and 250,000 dinars for companies.

Montenegro Used as Means for Greater Serbian Goal

93BA0801A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 93 p XI

[Article by Srdjan Darmanovic: "Abyss as a Way Out of the Trap: Montenegro in the Jaws of Life or Death"]

[Text] *The current Yugoslavia is the most to which ruling Montenegrin state policy is prepared to agree, but for Milosevic this is the least: it is a means, and not an end. His goal is an alliance of Serbian states. Montenegro is only a technical addition here and a bypass that preserves the fiction of a Yugoslavia, in order that the warring Serbs in the Krajinas can later be added to it as the "queen bee."*

Despite the current confrontations between the former Yugoslav republics, much indicates that it is also this last one's turn: Serb(ian)o-Montenegrin. Several important preconditions and sources exist for it, among which the most important are: a) the nature and ambition of the Milosevic regime, b) domination of the greater Serbian national plan on the political scene of Serbia, including the main opposition parties, as well as the almost unanimous stand that Montenegro is an integral and indivisible part of this plan; c) the character of the newly created two-member federation; d) the traditional, and also today very lively and active intra-Montenegrin divisions; e) the abandoning of the strategic alliance with Milosevic by the Montenegrin leadership, and at the same time the inability of the Montenegrin state to act as a sufficiently powerful factor of warding off and protecting the state; f) the hypocrisy or, to put it mildly, the indecisiveness of the international community to prevent conflicts in the Balkans energetically, something that is most graphically revealed in the example of recognition, as well as leaving Bosnia-Herzegovina to its own fate.

Even a superficial analysis of each of these factors will show all the danger of current and increasingly serious Serb(ian)o-Montenegrin apportionment of forces.

The nature and ambitions of the Milosevic regime, or the policy carried out by this regime, are of a pandemic character. It has already been shown that not even national boundaries, created after the declaration of the new states on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, are not a sufficient barrier to it; the chances of resistance to it are all the less where there are no such boundaries, as in the case of Montenegro. Perhaps someone will ask himself: why enter at all into political or, heaven forbid, other kinds of conflicts with Montenegro? For the simple reason that the current Yugoslavia is the most that Montenegrin ruling state policy is prepared to agree to, but for Milosevic this is the least; it is a means, and not an end. His goal (as well as, moreover, that of a convincing majority of political forces in Serbia) is an alliance of Serbian states, which some want to call Great Serbia. Montenegro is only a technical addition here and a bypass that preserves the fiction of a Yugoslavia, in order that the warring Serbs in the Krajinas can later be added to it as the "queen bee." Since this is the minority option in Montenegro according to the last election results, and the Montenegrin Government leadership also rejects it publicly, here is one major reason for conflict.

Besides the important difference in this "foreign policy" or nation-building question, there is also internal strain, not only between two leaderships, but also two different political practices. Montenegro obtained the first multiparty government in its history as a confirmation of the democratic efforts of all the main political parties. At the same time, the principle of inviolable personal ownership is still in power in Serbia. It is indeed difficult to imagine that Milosevic can reconcile himself to the fact that in a part of the state of which he is the real master, a democratic system is developing that is not only completely opposed to his, but is also a direct negation to him. Moreover, his tendency toward the political crushing of all who do not display or betray once the expected loyalty must be seriously kept in mind. The presidential candidacy of Branko Kostic was an institutional attempt at punishing betrayed loyalty. But, other means have not been foreign to the president of Serbia either.

In a situation of sharpening conflicts, Montenegro cannot rely on the support of the Serbian opposition, because it has not yet shown that it is a program alternative to Milosevic. Enslaved by the same goals, it cannot advance beyond the infantile criticism that Milosevic, as a "red" or "Bolshevik," has not been able to realize, anyway, "fair national interests and demands" through allegedly democratic means. When Montenegro is in question, there has not even been any false courtesy with the Serbian opposition like the kind that Milosevic made with the "frog pond" Constitution, under which Montenegro was at least formally proclaimed an equal member of the federation. The opposition attacked that constitution with all its strength as confederative, i.e., "pro-Montenegrin."

The institutional anatomy of the FRY is not a guarantee that will calm down political conflicts. On the contrary. The two-member federation, in and of itself, does not promise a solid state society. That is a general place in the theory of federalism. Not even this, our—the only such existing federation in the world, it is difficult to be able to change that concept which was equally present with Althusius in the sixteenth century as with Lijphart in the twentieth. This axiom is given expression still more easily in the FRY because of the huge disproportion of the two federal units. The feeling of inequality in

both is equally legitimate. Conflicts of interest in such a situation are not only natural and logical, but also have difficult consequences.

Montenegro does not have internal unity, necessary in the struggle with a regime like Milosevic's and with his numerous satellites and isotopes. It is not in the position of a Slovenia or Macedonia, where internal (national) homogeneity has shown itself to be the decisive factor. In the landowner periods of its history in the 20th century, the same or similar division appears, i.e., repeats itself in Montenegro under different names (club members-members of rightist parties; greens-whites; partisans-chetniks): for or against (the most possible) national independence or equality in Montenegro. The historical fortune has been variable. If the unitarians prevailed in 1918, the federal principle predominated in 1945. This division is also evident today, in that a variation of complete national independence is very seriously in play. This question has always carried and also carries with it today a lot of explosiveness and an uncertain result. More simply put, Milosevic's imperial nationalism and idea of a so-called alliance of Serbian states still have enough adherents in Montenegro, relying primarily on demonstrated military force, both in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Clashes between Serbian and Montenegrin ruling circles are no longer hidden. The last meeting of the federal parliament was only the public culmination of that which had already been smoldering for a long time. It is not a matter just of incidents, but of the breakup of a strategic alliance. There are no more mutual aims; the interests of the two states differ; the same policy is no longer being carried out. However, this breakup and turning point is not supported by the basic factor of each state—force. The ruling party itself did everything in the pre-Hague period to make Montenegro incapable of any independent policy. The national weakness of Montenegro is visible with the naked eye. The former policy is being returned to the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] with interest. And in a situation when it has an adversary against itself that recognizes and respects only force and power as arguments.

Despite the undisputed importance of diplomatic activity, Montengro cannot count prematurely, in a dispute with Milosevic, on the international community. The Bosnian example is too fresh and burns painfully. The citizens of a state have been left to massacre each other. When the "blue helmets" were sought for Bosnia before the war, it was said: not possible, it is too expensive! What is the price today of that which was expensive then? Who guarantees that Montenegro would not be left to the same fate? Who guarantees that in the world's centers of power, where in the approach to international problems geostrategy and interests go before the struggle for democracy and human rights, it will not coldly be concluded that Montenegro is a traditional Serbian sphere of interest?

Because of all that has been said above, the conclusion is simply forced that Montenegro is in a trap out of which every road leads to the abyss. If it decides to save itself by means of national independence, war is a much more likely option than peace. If it decides to wait, defend the status quo, and advance internal democracy, the likelihood that an SPS-SRS [Socialist Party of Serbia-Serbian Radical Party] wave will cover it is greater than a positive result. It is difficult to formulate an effective national policy. If there is one, it would have to presuppose a consensus of all democratic political parties/forces about the protection of peace and a minimum of vital state and national interests.

Kosovo

Serbian Army Reportedly Amassing Forces in Province

LD3003203793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By correspondent Nadira Avdic-Vlassi from Pristina]

[Text] Kosovo has for a long time looked like a military and police camp, surrounded and enclosed from all sides. It is difficult to obtain precise information on how the army is deployed and how many units there are, but citizens know that all preparations for a possible military involvement in solving the Kosovo problem have been carried out. Positions around towns have been taken, and Pristina in particular could become an easy prey to artillery because of its geographical position.

New garrisons have been opened in Vucitrn, Malesevo, and Vitina.

A new military garrison has also been opened in Bujanovac in southern Serbia, a town with an Albanian majority. Albanians are resentful toward the forced conscription into the Serbian army of remaining young people born in 1976 and older, most of whom have emigrated to avoid this.

It is still a secret where military aircraft from an airport near Pristina fly to.

Elections for Kosovo Parliament Expected

93BA0739B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by Ivana Alojcic: "Election Awaited to the Parliament of Kosovo"]

[Text] The Law on Termination of the Assembly of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo and the Executive Council, as well as the Law on Termination of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo, will lapse on the day when the Assembly of AP [Autonomous Province] Kosovo and Metohija is officially established. The Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija will be officially established after direct and secret elections are

held under the provisions of the Constitution and the provisional statutory decision which will be adopted by the National Assembly.

This is the second article in the proposed version of the law to rescind those laws and other regulations which the government has drafted, which will be taken up by the Serbian parliament in the session that is beginning today and will last two days. The Legislative Committee has already passed this bill.

"The Assembly of SAP Kosovo was abolished on the basis of the fact that it had not functioned for a long time and did not conform to the republic Constitution, and also in view of the fact that a large number of delegates and a majority of the members of the Executive Council had by their acts threatened the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of the republic," explains Zoran Cetkovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly. "On 5 July 1990, the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia adopted a special Law on Termination of the Assembly and Executive Council of SAP Kosovo. All rights and duties were assumed by the Assembly of SR Serbia, and those of the Executive Council were assumed under the law by the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia," the vice president explained.

The Provisional Statutory Decision

"Even then, Article 2 of the law emphasized that the Assembly and Executive Council of SR Serbia would exercise those rights and discharge that duty until the Assembly and Executive Council of SAP Kosovo are officially established. Following the passage of this law, and with adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia in September 1990, the constitutional law to implement the Constitution provided that the Assembly of Serbia would adopt a provisional statutory decision of AP Kosovo and Metohija and call direct and secret elections to the provincial Assembly under the provisions of the Constitution and the provisional statutory decision. It was also provided that the newly elected Assembly would adopt the statute of the province," our informant explained.

In March 1991, the National Assembly of Serbia also adopted the Law on Termination of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo, so that it also ceased to exist.

"These laws that were adopted in 1991 and 1992 are for all practical purposes exhausted in their content and application once they take effect and those bodies are actually abolished. There is a need in some way to terminate those laws formally as well, and the government's proposal envisages in Article 2 of the law that they will lapse on the day the Assembly of Kosovo and Metohija is officially established. This decision conforms entirely to the provisions of the Constitution and the constitutional law," Cetkovic says, and he adds that after direct and secret elections are held to the Assembly of the province and that Assembly is officially established, these laws will be entirely historical in nature.

Laws for a Particular Moment in History

"It is very essential that this law explicitly determine and emphasize when these laws also cease to be valid as a formal matter, because this demonstrates that they were adopted in a particular moment of history, and that in future the system in Kosovo must function as it does in other parts of the republic, more precisely, as it does in Vojvodina, where following direct and secret elections the Assembly was officially established and it adopted its statute," the vice president explained, emphasizing that by rescinding these laws, the government is showing its intention and desire that the provincial Assembly be officially established as soon as possible and the statute adopted. This solution avoids a possible momentary legal vacuum, because up to that moment the National Assembly of Serbia must exercise those rights and discharge those duties which will be assumed and which will belong to the provincial Assembly.

Zoran Cetkovic says that recent negotiations between the republic and federal governments, especially concerning education, seem to show that a constructive approach is being developed in political talks, in which representatives of the Albanian alternative have begun to be included. Nor are temporary measures being adopted any longer in the province. They were in any case in conformity with the laws in effect earlier, but they were adopted in economic organizations and other institutions and establishments. More than a year ago, a law was adopted in the republic which put a time limit on the possibility of adopting temporary measures, which expired at the end of 1992. Thus, even now we are in a period when temporary measures can no longer be adopted.

Cetkovic concluded by saying that Serbia neither has nor is applying any special laws in those areas of the political and economic system that would pertain to the region of Kosovo and Metohija, because after adoption of the new Constitution new republic laws were adopted which apply systematically to the entire territory of the Republic of Serbia.

Arkan Views Present Situation, Options in Province

AU3103104693 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by M. Kikovic: "No Mercy in Kosmet"]

[Text] "The people cannot stand the growing gap between them and the war profiteers any longer. They are getting impatient, and this is the last chance for political institutions to avoid their disappointment. Fraud has to be stamped out, otherwise everyone will take up arms." This is how Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, a member of the Serbian parliament, representing a group of citizens from Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohije], characterizes the present situation in Kosmet. He says that up to now only tolerance and incapability have been shown toward Kosmet.

He has also made the following statement: "Temporarily the Albanians do not have the right to govern Kosmet because they almost seized it and proclaimed its independence, but this has not thwarted their intentions concerning their independence and a greater- Albania. Having foreign support, they are now creating their own state in our presence, under our wing, and we are still behaving helplessly. We are still courting the hostile international community in order not to be condemned by it. At the same time its spies and warmongers, assuming the form of delegations, keep on visiting Kosmet, thus undermining the country. In contrast to the past, enemy services can now easily perform their tasks, for which they had to pay a lot of money before. We must not behave masochistically any longer, the defense system has to start functioning. According to the plans of mighty international factors Kosmet is coming next, but we shall not allow the scenario from Bosnia to be repeated."

According to Arkan's opinion the system of parallel leadership can be controlled by a strong police, judiciary and financial institutions, which will enable the constitutional state to function. One has to be especially careful with Albanians, who not only disrespect the country, but are also trying to destroy it.

"They have to comprehend that their future is Serbia, in which they will have all civil rights. They have to comprehend that Rugova and other Albanian political leaders are pushing them toward disaster. The Serbs do not want a war, but they are forced to be ready for it. Rugova does not even deny that he is an Albanian citizen. Therefore the Yugoslav passport should be taken away from him. It is better for us all to direct our eyes to Belgrade than to Tirana. If there are people who do not share this opinion, we shall open the borders, and they can look for their future in Albania," Arkan says.

Arkan maintains that paramilitary forces are active in Kosmet. They consist of Albanians trained in Albania and Germany. They are sent to Croatian battlefields, they even get help from Turkey and Bulgaria. In this way their morale for the first strike on "the southern front" is being raised.

"A large number of Albanians is being trained now to be sent to the war [in former Yugoslavia]. These people should be forbidden to come back to Kosovo. We have to reinforce the police forces in Kosmet, especially along the borders, they should be given wider powers.... The Serbian people have to be prepared to defend their homes. A large number of Serbian volunteers from Kosovo have participated in the war already, more and more young people are registering for military training at the Serbian Volunteer Guard Center. They do not want a war, but they want to be organized and prepared to defend their homes. Foreign and domestic enemies should be aware of this fact. There are no teeth, no backbone, and no tank treads that would not break in Kosovo. The people are on the alert, they have been trained to fight, every Serbian place is a defense center," the commander of the Serbian Volunteer Guard says.

Arkan thinks that the army should be transformed quickly and efficiently. He supports the creation of a strong professional Serbian army that would be a guarantee of peace. That is why he is proposing that military units be transferred to critical points, to secure the borders, to locate a part of the military industry to Kosmet.

"The Serbs must grow wiser. There must be no treason, beginning from the parliament down to the smallest village. Things must no longer be kept under the veil in the parliament. We gained the confidence of the people, but we can also lose it if we betray their expectations. It is my task to enable the children in Kosmet to live as peacefully as other children in Serbia," Arkan says.